

THE COVENANT CONCEPT IN THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY
IN THE LIGHT OF
EARLIER COVENANTAL IDEAS IN ISRAEL

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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The determinative factor which impelled the Qumran community to secede from the main body of Judaism was its concern for the correct and legitimate interpretation of the scriptures. The community's accusations against its contemporaries are indicative of that fact. Behind such indictments, however, there lay a profound idealism of covenant. The improper use of scripture was a violation of the covenant pledge and resulted in a suspension of the covenant bond through the execution of the impending curse. The community was confronted by a crisis of covenant. The merit and validity of the Sinai covenant had become suspect. The covenant bond and, indeed, the whole history of salvation lay in the balance. The community solved the dilemma by interpreting its own life as a re-expression of the desert existence of ancient Israel. By renewing its obedience and by living under the conditions of the old covenant, the community would "atone" for the failures of that covenant and thus more worthily represent the true people of God. In this setting too, God's electing and redeeming "grace" would inspire and sustain its renewed sensitivity of allegiance to the covenant. The community of Qumran had become the carrier of Israel's hopes, the vehicle through which its covenant and history of salvation continued and proceeded toward their ultimate fulfillment.

There are two distinguishable covenant themes in the texts: the priestly and the apocalyptic.

The priestly theme was a conscious attempt to legitimize the prerogatives of the Qumran cult and priesthood. The Qumran priesthood had been set apart to execute its priestly office in the cultic setting of Qumran which had come to supersede the temple of Jerusalem as the new theophanic centre where the "presence" of God made itself known. The priestly theme of covenant was also marked by a legalistic understanding of law. Covenant response, in this context, involved the formal enactment of the legal stipulations of the Pentateuch.

The apocalyptic theme of covenant differed radically from the formal and legalistic type. The concept of election was concerned with the destiny of the elect in the eschatological fulfillment of history, their participation in the final war against evil, their victory under the leadership of the Davidic Messiah and their sharing in the messianic kingdom of peace to be established near the new temple on Mount Zion. Covenant response, in this context, was an attitude of faith in and reliance upon this redemptive programme of God, revealed through the study of the scriptures. The covenant turned about the concepts of election, providence, redemption and faith. It arose out of the initiative of God in election, was projected into the future as an expectation of redemption and claimed man's allegiance of faith in and reliance upon the providence of God.

This apocalyptic theme of covenant went hand in hand with a profound esteem for the patriarchs and their covenant. It was the "covenant of the forefathers" which formed the basis for the community's consciousness of election, which gave it a basis of assurance in its destiny of redemption and which became the supreme object of emulation in faithful covenant response.

PREFACE

The concept of covenant lies at the heart of the religion of Israel, for it is essentially descriptive of the relationship which exists between God and His people. In this fundamental sense, the covenant is a relationship which exists and survives by virtue of a balanced interaction of the elements of election and response which are contributed reciprocally by its participants. The interests of this study will be focussed primarily upon this fundamental notion of covenant as it occurs in the literature of the Qumran community. In addition, an attempt will be made to understand this fundamental relationship in the light of the Old Testament in which it found its orientation and from which it drew its motive strength. No attempt will be made, however, to arrive at a detailed comparative understanding of the Old Testament and Qumran texts. What we have at Qumran is a concept of covenant which has progressed doctrinally or spiritually beyond that of the Old Testament. Where there are clear roots of Old Testament thought, these will be brought into the discussion to contribute to the principal cause at hand: an understanding of the covenant concept in the Qumran community.

The relationship which exists between the covenant traditions of the Old Testament and those of Qumran has been the subject of much discussion and speculation.

In 1960 K.Baltzer published Das Bundesformular, in which he set out to trace the basic pattern of the covenant formulations in the scrolls and understood these to conform to the original pattern of the Old Testament formulations¹. Admittedly, there are survivals of ancient traditions in Qumran literature. Equally obvious, however, are the radical modifications which have taken place. These changes came about under the influence of the new theological and spiritual climate of the Qumran community within its Judaic setting. It is by observing the characteristics of this new spiritual milieu that one achieves some understanding of the concept of covenant it created and nurtured. A study such as Baltzer's has overlooked the changes and has neglected the causes which influenced them.

A wealth of evidence can be supplied to show the existence of ancient Sinai traditions in the texts. The studies of F.M.Cross² and of A.S.v.d.Woude³, in particular, have demonstrated how the ancient covenant traditions of Sinai have survived and have again found expression in the religious and cultic life of the community. After a more detailed study, however, it became apparent that the presence of such traditions does not necessarily indicate that the Sinai covenant itself became the object of emulation for the community, as is sometimes supposed⁴. In fact, this study will show that

1: K.Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, Neukirchen, 1960.

2: F.M.Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran, London, 1958.

3: A.S.v.d.Woude, Die Messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran, Assen, 1957.

4: Ibid; p.48: "Somit ist auch für die Qumran-Sekte 'die Mosezeit Ideal der Endzeit' ".

it was precisely the patriarchal covenant which lies at the heart of religious life in the community and is, indeed, essential to an adequate understanding of its whole life and existence as an exclusive sect. It was this covenant which formed a basis for the community's consciousness of election, which gave it a basis of assurance in its destiny of redemption and which became the supreme object of its response to God.

In addition to the fundamental interpretation which centers around the strictly defined relationship of election and response, the covenant can be understood also in a relative sense, as embracing the whole scope of a nation's religious experience: its function and attitude toward other nations, the social responsibility of individuals within the nation and its destiny as a political entity within the providence of God.

Toward the completion of this study, Dr. G. Vermes drew my attention to the recently published thesis of Dr. A. Jaubert, La Notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'Ère Chrétienne.¹ Dr. Jaubert has devoted a considerable section of her work to a study of the covenant concept in the Qumran community². This study, though informative and stimulating, has treated the concept of covenant in a broad and comprehensive sense, rather than in the fundamental sense described above. It is in a description of this fun-

1: A. Jaubert, La Notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'Ère Chrétienne, Paris, 1963.

2: Ibid, pp.116-249.

damental understanding of covenant, which centers around the relationship of reciprocal election and response, that the contribution of this study will lie. Other relative problems will be brought into the discussion, but only where these contribute to the fundamental issue under review.

There are one or two factors which should be taken into consideration before a discussion of the covenant theme in the Qumran texts can be successfully launched.

The religious thought of the community did not spring into being as a clearly crystallized entity. The student of the texts is confronted, not with a clearly defined and consistent scheme of doctrines, but with a development of these doctrines. It is a development which moves from neutral, liberal and national thought-forms to biased, ultra-conservative and highly sectarian ones. A text such as 4QDibHam, for instance, displays a curious absence of sectarian partiality. This becomes intelligible in the light of the palaeographical evidence which places its date of composition in pre-Qumran days when the community still participated in the common heritage of Judaism. An awareness of such development can, in fact, serve the interpretation of the text and dictate the description of the concepts it contains.

Sometimes an understanding of the "form-critical" nature of a text can assist in its interpretation. It has long since been assumed that 1QS is not a homogenous piece of work, but an anthology, a composition or a fusion of different writings which originated in different

periods of the sect's existence. There are in this text clearly defined divisions which can be classified according to subject matter or on the basis of time references. For example in 1QS VIII:15 the reference to Isaiah 40:3, which was taken as scriptural justification for the community's exodus to Qumran, is preceded by the words: "when these things come to pass for the community in Israel". This is a reliable indication that the passage originated in earlier pre-Qumran days and that any doctrines expressed here are characteristic of this earlier phase of development.

Not infrequently one comes upon certain inconsistencies in the texts. These must remain what they are. There was certainly no deliberate or conscious attempt to formulate a theology wholly consistent in all its component aspects. The texts embody the testimony of a pious faith which was never confronted by the challenge of critical scrutiny from the outside world and which was not required to be systematized for apologetical reasons. Again, these contradictions are just another indication of the "muddle" in which Judaism found itself when Christ came to proclaim the one and only way.

In conclusion to this preface, I wish to take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to all without whose concern, interest and encouragement this would have been an arduous and cheerless task.

I am grateful to Professor N.W.Porteous whose personal interest in the subject of this study and kind words of encouragement during its development have been such a source of inspiration. It was he who, knowing of my interest in the subject of the covenant, first suggested

this topic to me and stimulated my interest in its possibilities.

I am also greatly indebted to my tutor, Dr. I.Moir, for his untiring readiness to discuss problems relevant to this study. I am particularly grateful to him for devoting so much time and energy to the task of reading and correcting the first draft and for his willingness to arrange the transference of microfilms of unpublished dissertations through the facilities of the Inter-Library Loan Service.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. G.Vermes for his suggestions and constant interest in my progress.

My thanks are also due to the staff of the library of New College, Edinburgh and to the librarian of the École Biblique et Archéologique, Jerusalem, Jordan.

Finally, a word of warm appreciation for my wife Angela. Her meticulous eye for accuracy of detail has been an indispensable service in the somewhat onerous task of proof-reading the final manuscript. More than that, her patience, understanding and constant interest are just a few indications that her sense of response to the obligations of the covenant of matrimony went far beyond the realm of duty.

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	1
ABBREVIATIONS	xix

P A R T O N E

THE ISSUE, THE DILEMMA, THE SOLUTION
OF THE COVENANT

Chapter

I THE SECESSION AND ITS ISSUES

1. Introduction	1
2. The Secession	2
3. The Issues	4
a) The Levitical Laws of Purity	4
b) The Interpretation of the Law	7
c) The Revelation of the Law	9
4. Summary	13

II THE DILEMMA OF THE COVENANT

1. Introduction	14
2. Law Interpretation and Covenant Allegiance	14
3. The Curse of the Covenant	17
a) The Covenant Renewal Formulation	17
b) The Curse in the Old Testament and in the Qumran Texts	23
4. The Crisis of the Covenant	28
5. Summary	32

III THE SINAI COVENANT ORTHODOXY

1. Introduction	33
2. The Desert-Exile	34
a) The Messiah and the Desert-Exiles	34
b) Typological Interpretation	38
3. The Exodus	40
4. The Desert Sojourn	43
5. The Mosaic Teacher	44
a) The Prophet like Moses	44
b) The Leader of the Exodus	49
c) The Interpreter of the Law	50
1) "The Rod"	50

ii) The Mediator of Mysteries	55
6. Summary	58
IV THE COVENANT OF RETURN	
1. Introduction	59
2. The Desert-Covenant in Hosea	60
a) Election and Response	60
b) The Sinai Covenant	66
3. The Desert-Covenant in the Qumran Texts	70
a) Hosea and Qumran	70
b) The Door of Hope	72
c) The Sinai Covenant in Question	73
d) The Return to Covenant Law	75
e) The Atoning Community	78
4. Summary	83

P A R T T W O

ELECTION AND COVENANT

A. THE PRIESTLY DOCTRINE OF ELECTION

V THE ELECTION OF THE CULT AND PRIESTHOOD

1. Introduction	85
2. Election and Cult	85
a) The "Panim" and the Cult in the Old Testament	85
b) The "Panim" and the Cult in the Qumran Texts	88
c) The Crisis of the Cult in the Old Testament	90
d) The Crisis of the Cult in the Qumran Texts	93
3. Election and Priesthood	97
a) The Elect Priesthood	97
b) The Cult and Priesthood	99
c) The Eternal Priesthood	101
i) Eschatological Priesthood in the Old Testament	102
ii) Eschatological Priesthood in the Qumran Texts	103
4. The Priest Messiah	104
a) Eschatological High Priest and Cult in Judaism	104
b) Eschatological High Priest and Cult in the Qumran Texts	106
5. Summary	108

B. THE APOCALYPTIC DOCTRINE OF ELECTION

VI HISTORY AND ELECTION

1. Introduction	110
2. God "Remembers"	111
3. God "Atones"	111
4. God "Elects"	113
5. Summary	115

VII THE COVENANT OF THE FOREFATHERS

1. Introduction	117
2. The Patriarchal Covenant in the Old Testament	117
a) The Origin of the Election Concept	117
b) Genesis 15	119
c) Genesis 17	123
3. The Patriarchal Covenant in the Qumran Texts	126
a) The Divine Commitment	126
i) CD	126
ii) 1QM	127
b) The Elect Remnant	128
i) 4QDibHam	128
ii) CD - 1QM	133

c) The Righteous Remnant	134
i) 1Q34bis,II:3-8	134
ii) CD	138
d) Promise, Response, Fulfillment	140
i) 1QS	140
4. Summary	146
VIII THE EVERLASTING COVENANT	
1. Introduction	148
2. The Everlasting Covenant in the Old Testament	148
a) Resume	148
b) Exilic Prophecy	149
c) The New Covenant	151
d) Covenant and Remnant	154
3. The Everlasting Covenant in the Qumran Texts	157
a) The Destiny of Man	157
i) Election in 1QH	157
ii) Election and Immortality	163
b) The Destiny of the Remnant	167
i) 1QS IV:18-23	167
ii) The Time of Final Judgment	168
iii) The Remnant and Survivors of the Covenant	169
iv) The Sons of God's Will	170
v) The Poor	172

vi) The Everlasting Covenant and the Remnant	178
4. Summary	180
IX THE COVENANT OF PEACE	
1. Introduction	182
2. The Glory of Adam	182
a) The Glory of Adam and the Everlasting Covenant	183
b) The Glory of Adam and Everlasting Peace	185
3. Everlasting Peace	187
a) The Prophetic Covenant of Peace and Righteousness	187
b) Peace and Righteousness in the Non-Canonical Texts	191
c) Peace and Righteousness in the Qumran Texts	193
4. The Spiritual Temple	196
a) A Sanctuary of Men	196
b) Everlasting Truth	198
c) Everlasting Knowledge	201
5. Summary	206

X	THE COVENANT OF KINGSHIP	
1.	Introduction	208
2.	The Messiah of Israel	208
	a) The Warrior-King	208
	b) The Branch of Righteousness	210
	c) The Bringer of Peace	212
	d) David Redivivus	213
3.	The Throne of Zion	215
	a) The King and Mount Zion in the Old Testament	216
	b) The Messiah and Mount Zion in the Qumran Texts	220
4.	The Priestly Kingdom	222
	a) Kingship and Priesthood in Ezekiel	223
	b) Kingship and Priesthood in the Qumran Texts	225
5.	Summary	226

P A R T T H R E E

LAW AND COVENANT

XI THE TORAH COVENANT

1. Introduction	228
2. The New Covenant	229
a) The New Covenant and the Teacher of Righteousness	229
b) The New Covenant and the Interpretation of the Law	236
3. The Covenant of the Community	239
a) Community and Covenant	239
b) Community and Eschatology	240
c) Community and Study of the Law	242
4. The Covenant of God	248
a) The Covenant of God and the Law	248
b) The Covenant of God and Faith	250
5. Summary	252

XII THE COVENANT AND LAW

1. Introduction	255
2. The Centrality of Law	255
a) The Way of Perfection	255
b) Perfection and Exclusivism	258
c) Exclusivism and Study of the Law	260
3. The Study of the Law	261
a) The Cult and the Study of the Law	261
b) The Study of the Law and its Exposition	264
c) Exposition and Mishpatim	267
d) The Counsel of the Law	270
e) The Halakah of the Community	272
f) The Study of the Law and the Covenant	274
4. Summary	276

XIII THE LAW AND REVELATION

1. Introduction	278
2. The Study of the Law and Revelation	279
a) The Things Revealed	279
b) Knowledge of Mysteries	284

3. The Mysteries of God	286
a) The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Texts	286
b) The Mysteries and the Prophetic Word	289
c) The Peshar and the New Revelation	293
i) The Book of Daniel	293
ii) The Qumran Texts	295
d) The New Revelation and the Biblical Commentaries	298
e) The New Revelation and Covenant Faith	299
f) Priestly Legalism and Apocalyptic Esotericism	301
4. Summary	304

XIV COVENANT LAW AND COVENANT RESPONSE

1. Introduction	306
2. The Categorical Nature of Law	307
a) The Synonyms for Law	307
b) The Commandments of God	309
c) The Precepts of God	310
d) The Words of God	312
3. Law and the History of Salvation (1)	313
a) The Precepts of God	313
b) The Graven Decree	316
c) The Words of God	318

4. Law and the History of Salvation (2)	321
a) Other Synonyms for Law	321
b) The Way of God	322
c) The Truth of God	324
d) The Will of God	330
5. Law and Covenant Faith	332
a) The Precepts of God	332
i) Revelation and Faith	332
b) The Graven Decree	336
i) Thanksgiving and Faith	336
c) The Words of God	341
i) Revelation and Faith	341
d) The Truth of God	345
i) Revelation and Faith	345
e) The Will of God	350
i) Revelation and Faith	350
6. Covenant Faith and the Patriarchal Covenant	354
7. Summary	358
 EPILOGUE	 361
 APPENDIX: THE EXILE-COVENANT	 375
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 382

ABBREVIATIONS

ATHANT	= Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATHR	= Anglican Theological Review
BA	= Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	= Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBB	= Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BJRL	= Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BLE	= Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique
BO	= Bibliotheca Orientalis
BWANT	= Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	= Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAW	= Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	= Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CS	= Cahiers Sioniens
ETL	= Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvT	= Evangelische Theologie
FS	= Festschrift
GSAT	= Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament
HAT	= Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HTR	= Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	= Israel Exploration Journal
Int	= Interpretation
JBL	= Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	= Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	= Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	= Journal of Religion
JTS	= Journal of Theological Studies
JSS	= Journal of Semitic Studies
Jud	= Judaica

KNaw	= Koninklyke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen
NedThT	= Nederlands Theologisch Tydschrift
NKZ	= Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
NRT	= Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NTS	= New Testament Studies
OTS	= Oudtestamentische Studien
PEQ	= Palestine Exploration Quarterly
RB	= Revue Biblique
RDQ	= Revue de Qumran
RHPR	= Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses
RHR	= Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RSPT	= Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques
RTP	= Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie
Sem	= Semitica
SJT	= Scottish Journal of Theology
ST	= Studia Theologica
Stud Ev	= Studia Evangelica
TGUOS	= Transactions Glasgow University Oriental Society
TLZ	= Theologische Literaturzeitung
TWNT	= Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
TZ	= Theologische Zeitschrift
VD	= Verbum Domini
VT	= Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	= Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZKT	= Zeitschrift für Kathologische Theologie
ZNW	= Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZRGG	= Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZTK	= Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

NOTE

Biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version. Quotations from the Qumran texts are based on the translation by A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran. Any departures from this will be clearly indicated.

QUMRAN SIGLA

The complete text of the various documents from Qumran has been published in the following works:

J.M. Allegro,

"A newly-discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran", PEQ 86, (1954), p.69-75 (4QpPs37).

"Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect", JBL 75, (1956), p.89-95 (4QpNah; 4QpPs37).

"Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", JBL 75, (1956), p.174-187 (4QPB; 4QF1; 4QpIs^a, fr.A,B,C,D; 4QTest).

"More Isaiah Commentaries from Qumran's Fourth Cave", JBL 77, (1958), p.215-221 (4QpIs^{bcd}).

"Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrashim", JBL 77, (1958), p.350-354 (4QF1).

"More unpublished Pieces of a Qumran Commentary on Nahum (4QpNah)", JJS 7, (1962), p.307 (4QpNah).

M.Baillet,

"Un recueil liturgique de Qumran, Grotte 4. Les Paroles des Luminaires", RB 68, (1961), p.195-250 (4QDibHam).

D.Barthélemy-J.T.Milik,

Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Vol.I: Qumran Cave I, Oxford, 1955 (1QSa; 1QSB; 1QDM; 1Q27; 1Q34bis).

M.Burrows,

The Dead Sea Scrolls of St.Mark's Monastery, Vol.I, New Haven, 1950 (1QpHab); Vol.II, New Haven, 1951 (1QS).

C.Rabin,

The Zadokite Documents, Oxford, 1954 (CD).

J.Strugnell

"The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran", in
Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII,
(1960), p.318-345. (4QS1).

E.L.Sukenik,

The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew
University, Jerusalem, 1955 (1QM; 1QH).

The sigla used in designating the manuscripts of Qumran follow the system adopted by D.Barthélemy and J.T.Milik in the series, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. A complete list may be found in Vol.I, Qumran Cave I, pp.46-48.

1QDM	The Words of Moses	Barthélemy-Milik
1QH	Hymns of Thanksgiving	Sukenik
1QM	The War of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness	Sukenik
1QpHab	The Habakkuk Commentary	Burrows
1QS	The Community Rule	Burrows
1QSa	The Messianic Rule	Barthélemy-Milik
1Qsb	The Blessings	Barthélemy-Milik
1Q27	The Book of Mysteries	Barthélemy-Milik
1Q34bis	A Liturgical Prayer	Barthélemy-Milik
4QDibHam	The Words of the Heavenly Lights	Baillet
4QF1	Florilegium. A Midrash on the last days	Allegro
4QpIs	The Isaiah Commentary	Allegro
4QpNah	The Nahum Commentary	Allegro

4QpPs37	Commentary on Psalm 37	Allegro
4QPB	The Patriarchal Blessings	Allegro
4QS1	The Angelic Liturgy	Strugnell
4QTest	Testimonia. A Messianic Anthology	Allegro
CD	The Zadokite Document	Rabin

PART ONE

THE ISSUE, THE DILEMMA, THE SOLUTION

OF THE COVENANT

CHAPTER I

THE SECESSION AND ITS ISSUES

1. Introduction

In 1QS VIII:13, we are told that the community went into the desert in order to "be separated from the midst of the habitation of perverse men". That this secession was regarded as a significant period in the life of the community is evident from the frequent references to this event in the Zadokite Documents. They referred to themselves as "the priests..who went out from the land of Judah"¹; "who went out from the land of Judah and were exiled in the land of Damascus"²; "the converts (sic) of Israel (who) have departed from the way of the people"³; "the house of peleg..those that went out of the Holy City"⁴; "Ephraim (which) departed from Judah"⁵.

A careful study of the historical background of the Qumran community will disclose that it was the Hasmonean Issue which eventually led to the secession of the sect from the temple priesthood

1: CD IV:2-3

2: CD VI:5

3: CD VIII:16

4: CD XX:22; It is possible that "the house of peleg" does not apply to the entire community but to a faction of separatists within it who rejoined the priesthood in Jerusalem. This is suggested in the reference to "the house of peleg" who have "joined themselves to Menasseh", in a recently published text of 4QpNah. cf. J.M. Allegro, "More unpublished pieces of a Qumran Commentary on Nahum (4QpNah)", JJS 7 (1962), p.307; column IV:1.

5: CD VII:12; XIV:1

of Jerusalem¹. On the basis of available textual evidence, however, there is every reason to believe that the community existed as an independent sect within the temple priesthood prior to its conflict with the Hasmoneans². This being true, the secession from Jerusalem was primarily motivated by a theological idealism rather than by the influence of political expediency. This suggestion can be fully substantiated only after a careful study of and investigation into the issues and theological motives which compelled the sect to secede. Only then shall we be better equipped to understand the full implications of the unique sectarian concept of covenant within the Qumran community. To this end we must turn to a passage in the Zadokite Documents.

2. The Secession

"But when God visits the earth, all those who despise (the commandments) shall draw down on themselves the reward of the wicked; when the word shall come that is written in the words of the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz, who said, 'There shall come upon thee and thy people, and upon thy father's house, days such as have (not) come since the day when Ephraim departed from Judah! When the two houses of Israel were separated, Ephraim ryled over Judah, and all those who fell back were delivered up to the sword, whereas those who held firm escaped to the land of the North'³.

1: The Hasmonean Issue centers around the figure of Jonathan who, by appointment of Alexander Balas in 152 BC. filled the vacant position (since the death of Alcimus in 159 BC.) of the high-priesthood. Being a non-Zadokite, this was an act of "temple defilement" according to the predominantly Zadokite community of Qumran. For a more detailed discussion of Qumran asceticism cf. F.M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran, London, 1958, pp.54-56; C.D. Ginsburg, The Essenes, their History and Doctrines, London, 1956, p.16f.

2: This problem will be discussed in more detail in another context

3: CD VII:9b-14a

The entire context of this passage, CD VII:9b-14a, consists of four biblical quotations which have been connected to each other and which, by a characteristic exegetical process, have been applied to the contemporary situation of the community¹. In the introductory section (lines 10-13), the writer uses Isaiah 7:17 as evidence of the coming judgment of God upon the godless. Apart from slight deviations, this is a word for word citation of the MT. Then follows an interesting addition in lines 12-13 which complements the MT: "when the two houses separated, Ephraim ruled over Judah". "Ephraim" and "Judah" are not used in a strict geographical sense but refer to the sect of Qumran and the faithless priesthood of Jerusalem respectively². C. Rabin³, A.S.v.d.Woude⁴ and A.Dupont-Sommer⁵ have pointed out that the word רָב is used as a synonym for "to separate" and for "ruler" (רָב). "Punning on the double significance of the word 'sar', 'departed' and 'ruler', the author explains that in these circumstances Ephraim ruled over Judah

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- 1: A.Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings from Qumran, Oxford, 1962, p.133 (n.3): "This passage is applied to the contemporary situation". For more detailed treatments of this method of exegesis, cf., W.H.Brownlee, "Biblical interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", BA 14, (1951), pp.54-76. J.v.d.Ploeg, "Bybelverklaring te Qumran", Mededelingen der KNAW, NR, Afdeling Letterkunde 23, (1960), pp.205-229. F.F.Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, London, 1959. K.Elliger, Studien zum Habakuk Kommentar vom Toten Meer, Tübingen, 1953, pp.118-164.
 - 2: For a good exposition of the identification "Ephraim" = community; "Judah" = Jerusalem priesthood, cf., A.S.v.d.Woude, Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran, Assen, 1957, pp.44-45. J.Maier, Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol.II, Basel, 1960, pp.47-48.
 - 3: C.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, Oxford, 1954, p.28, (n.13¹).
 - 4: A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.44.
 - 5: A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.133, (n.3).

meaning by this that the fate of the sectaries was a far happier one than that of the other Jews"¹. Hence, both ideas, that of separation and that of superiority are closely related in the thought of the community. Finding its authority in scripture, the community interpreted its secession from the Jerusalem priesthood as a God-directed event, enabling it to lead a superior life in remote isolation².

The above confirms our suggestion that the secession arose out of a fundamental idealism rather than out of the political issues of contemporary events. This view is also endorsed by the numerous accusations which occur in the texts and which are clearly directed against the contemporary opponents of the community. It is well to emphasize, at this point, that these accusations are concerned primarily with questions of a legal and doctrinal nature. This seems to indicate that there were deeper, doctrinal divergencies between the community and its opponents which brought about the actual schism. The Hasmonean Issue only served to provide a decisive impetus to a movement which had already begun to gain momentum.

3. The Issues

a) The Levitical laws of purity

In CD IV:15-18a, the expositor refers to "Belial's three nets", which he interprets to represent "lust" (line 17a), "riches"

1: A. Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.133 (n.3)

2: The expositor even interrupted his series of biblical quotations in order to convey this information to his readers.

(line 17b) and "defilement of the sanctuary" (line 18a).

The first, "lust", is probably aimed at the nation in general. According to line 20f., it is understood as an act of bigamy which, according to the expositor, contravenes the true teaching of the law of Moses and the principles of monogamy laid down by God since creation (line 21), and which has been observed by Noah and his family (V:1). On the whole question of marital law, the community appears to have adopted an attitude of increased severity¹. Whereas Leviticus 18:13 prohibits a marriage between a man and his mother's sister, the community extended this law to include marriage between a man and his niece, a practice which in rabbinic circles was condoned and even encouraged².

The second net, that of "riches" was also a matter of grave concern to the community as is indicated by the frequent references to it³. That the writer aims his accusations against the Jerusalem priesthood is evident from the fact that "the priests" are mentioned by name and from the evidence of similar accusations in the Psalms of Solomon⁴.

The third net, "defilement of the sanctuary". Many of the laws of the community are concerned with the laws of levitical purity and reflect the priestly and cultic interests of its members: "To put

1: cf. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, Pelican Books, 1962,

2: cf. I. Epstein, Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud, (p. 36 Cambridge, Mass., 1942, p.251);

3: 1QpH VIII:12 ("the wicked priest"); IX:5,6 ("the last priests of Jerusalem"); 4QpNah II:11 ("priests")

4: Ps.Sol. I:4; IV:13; VIII:11

a distinction between the unclean and the clean and to make known (the distinction) between sacred and profane"¹. The people of Qumran esteemed the temple and its worship highly and were concerned that these laws be observed in its precincts. It is in the light of this strict levitical idealism that we must see the third accusation of "defilement of the sanctuary"². Elsewhere, this "defilement" is qualified as an act of sexual perversion³, a matter of grave concern to the levitical idealists of Qumran⁴. Undoubtedly, the accusation is again aimed at the priests of Jerusalem who permitted this abominable practice to take place in the temple precincts.

This intense and idealistic concern for the exact observance in the temple of the levitical laws of purity may have been a major issue which led the community to assail its priestly contemporaries. Finding the situation no longer bearable, they felt compelled to secede to the desert, far removed from the temptations of city life⁵.

1: CD VI:17-18a; cf. CD VII:3-4; XII:19-20; Ezekiel 22:26; Leviticus 10:10; 11:47; Note also the separatist connotations of priestly "purity" in 1QS VII:3,19-20,24-25;

2: $\phi\tau\rho\delta$ undoubtedly refers to the temple rather than to the entire nation as H.Kosmala suggests. cf. H.Kosmala, Habräer-Essener-Christen, Leiden, 1959, p.376f.

3: CD V:6,7; XII:2

4: Note the frequent references to this practice: CD IV:18; V:6; XX:23; XII:2

5: For a discussion of this anti-temple polemic and its relation to the christian church, cf. O.Cullmann, "L'Opposition contre le temple de Jérusalem, motif commun de la Théologie Johannique et du Monde Ambiant", NTS 5 (1958), pp.157-173;

b) The interpretation of the law

The most common charge directed against the opponents of the community is that of transgression of the Torah:

"And in the time of the desolation of the land, the removers of the bounds rose up and led Israel astray. And the land was ravaged, for they preached rebellion against the commandments of God (revealed) by the hand of Moses and also by (the hands of the) Anointed of holiness; and they prophesied falsely to turn Israel away from following God"¹.

"The bounds" (סִבְלָא), of which the expositor speaks, are the "bound(s) of the Law" (הַדְּוָרִים סִבְלָא), mentioned in CD XX:25, "the bound (סִבְלָא) which their forefathers had established"(CD I:16). "The removers of the bounds" (סִבְלָא מְסַבְלִים) are thus accused of law transgression. In 4QpIs^b, I:6, the same accusation occurs. Here the text of Isaiah 5:11-14 has been applied to "the men of mockery who are in Jerusalem...who have rejected the law of Yahweh and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel"².

The following question needs to be answered: "What specific act of transgression is implied when the texts speak of transgression of the law?". CD XX:10b-12 provides the answer:

"Like their companions who turned back with the men of mockery, they will be judged for uttering words of straying against the precepts of righteousness, and for having despised the covenant.."

1: CD V:20-VI:1
2: cf. line 10

In both CD V:20f and CD XX:11f, transgression of the law is understood as a false proclamation of the law: they "preached rebellion", "propheesied falsely", "uttered words of straying". Moreover, through this falsification of the law, they are said to have "led Israel astray" (V:20). Undoubtedly, this is the same group of offenders referred to as "the prophets of falsehood" who have led men astray "by error"¹, or, "the interpreters of falsehood" who are similarly accused². Elsewhere, they are "the men of deceit"³, "the interpreters of straying"⁴. In each of these instances, the opponents are charged with "deceit", "falsehood" and "error". Hence, some form of law falsification appears to be implied. Again, the expressions "prophets" and "interpreters" suggest that this falsification of the law was understood as a deceitful and false interpretation and proclamation of that law. This suggestion is confirmed by the frequent occurrence of the expression "the congregation of them that seek smooth things"⁵.

The word נִפְסֵן occurs several times in the Old Testament and, almost invariably, it implies the utterance of deceitful words or the proclamation of a false prophecy. Psalm 12:2 speaks of those who utter lies and who speak "with flattering lips (נִפְסֵן נֶגֶשׁ) and a double heart". In Isaiah 30:10, the metaphor is applied to the pronouncement of a false prophecy: "Speak to us smooth things (נִפְסֵן),

1: 1QH IV:16

2: 1QH IV:7

3: 1QS IX:8; 1QH II:16; XIV:14

4: 1QH II:31; IV:9; VII:11-12;

5: 1QH II:15,32; CD I:18; 4QpNah II:7; cf. J.Maier, "Weitere Stücke zum Nahumkommentar aus der Höhle 4 von Qumran", Judaica 18 (1962), pp.215-250 (cf. p.233).

prophecy illusions"¹. In the same way, CD I:13-19 speaks of "those that have departed from the way" (line 13), who "sought smooth things and preferred illusions" (line 19)². They have been led astray "in the roadless desert" by the "Man of Mockery" who preached to them a false law (line 15)³, and who contravened the Torah (טוֹרָה) which had been established by the forefathers (line 16). In 1QH IV:7f, this falsification of Torah and the proclamation of "smooth things" is closely related to the interpretation and study of the Torah:

"And they, they (have led) Thy people astray. (Prophets of falsehood) have flattered them....And they, interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit, devised plans of Belial against me, bartering Thy law which Thou hast graven in my heart for the flattering words (which they speak) to Thy people. And they stopped the thirsty from drinking the liquor of knowledge"⁴.

Returning now to CD V:20-VI:1, we may draw the conclusion that "the removers of the bounds" are accused of transgression of the law because they falsified the prophecy and interpretation of that law.

c) The revelation of the Law

On the basis of the foregoing, several brief observations need to be made concerning the community's understanding of Torah:

1: cf. Daniel 11:21

2: cf. Isaiah 30:10,13; Translation by G.Vermes, Op.cit., p.98

3: Literally: "waters of falsehood". For the identification "water"= law, cf. N.Wieder, "The 'Law-Interpreter' of the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses", JJS 47; (1953), p.159; cf. Enoch 96:5; Baruch 77:15f; Sirach 15:3; 21:13; 24:25f; CD VI:4; 1QH IV:11f;

4: The expression "liquor of knowledge" is understood to apply to the law, the source of knowledge. cf. N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 47 (1953), p.159

(i) Torah is no longer confined to the "Torah of Moses". Rather, the concept of law has been extended to embrace the entire scope of God's revelation, mediated through the whole of the Old Testament, from Moses to the prophets: "the commandments of God (revealed) by the hand of Moses and also by (the hands of the) Anointed of holiness" (CD V:21-VI:1). A similar understanding of law is found in 4QpHos II:4. "They cast His commandments behind them which He had sent (by the hand) of His servants the prophets"¹.

(ii) "Torah" no longer represents a fixed code of precisely defined legal prescriptions, but is understood, in a general sense, as God's "word", God's "precept" or God's "commandment". The opponents are accused because they have "despised the law of the Lord" (לֹא שָׁמְרוּ)², "despised His word" (לֹא שָׁמְרוּ)³, "loathed the precept" (לֹא שָׁמְרוּ)⁴ and not heeded "the commandments of God" (לֹא שָׁמְרוּ)⁵. These synonyms for "torah" tend to accentuate this general understanding of law as embracing the total will of God. Disobedience to the law, therefore, is not so much the transgression of legal prescriptions as it is the contravention of the will of God Himself: "The removers of the bounds" are accused of rebelling against "the commandments of God" and causing Israel to turn away "from following God".

1: Translation by G. Vermes, Op.cit., p.230 ; cf. 1QS I:3; VIII:15-16;
 2: 1QpH I:11; 4QpIs^b, I:6;
 3: 1QS V:19; 1QH IV:35; etc.
 4: CD II:6;
 5: CD II:19,21

(iii) This will of God is conveyed to Israel through the medium of revelation. Through the study and interpretation of Moses and the prophets, God reveals Himself and His will. Thus, the community dedicates itself to the study of the law "which He commanded through Moses, so as to do according to all that was revealed through His holy spirit"¹. They take a vow to return to "the law of Moses according to all His commands" in order to "follow all that is revealed of it"². They dedicate themselves to the "precepts of God" in order to "behave perfectly before Him (according) to all the revelations"³.

The "removers of the bounds" are thus "the men of mockery" who removed the ancient "bounds of the law". They are "prophets of falsehood", "interpreters of smooth things" because they have falsified the will of God revealed to them through the words of Moses and the prophets:

"They cast down towards the Pit the life of the man by whose mouth Thou hast established the teaching and within whose heart Thou hast set understanding that he might open the fountain of knowledge to all the understanding. But they bartered it for uncircumcision of the lips and for the foreign tongue of a people without understanding"⁴.

1: 1QS VIII:15-16.

2: 1QS V:8-9.

3: 1QS I:8-9a; cf., 1QS VIII:1; IX:13,19.

4: 1QH II:17-19a; cf., 1QH II:31-32a; IV:6-7, 13-16. The use of the expression "fountain of knowledge" is again reminiscent of the water-symbolism used elsewhere to refer to the law of God. Cf., N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 4, (1953), p.159. The opponents are thus accused of exchanging the true understanding of God's law with "uncircumcision of the lips", a "foreign tongue", "without understanding".

"With bar(bar)ian lips and in a foreign tongue do they speak to Thy people, causing all their works to be foolish by deceit. For (they have) not (heeded) Thy (voice) nor lent their ear to Thy word; for they have said of the vision of knowledge, It is not true and of the way of Thy heart, that is not it!"¹.

In CD IV:19, "the movers of the bounds" are further qualified as "the builders of the wall" (בונ' החוץ)². The latter expression occurs again in CD VIII:12 but this time with a slight variation: Instead of בונ' החוץ, we now have the spelling בונ' הח'ץ. The fact that the latter spelling is used with the expression שח' המצפ, indicates that it is derived from Ezekiel 13:10. The MT also uses ח'ץ instead of חוץ. There is some justification then for reading בונ' הח'ץ in CD IV:19, as well. The implications of this word are rather significant as is pointed out by Segal:

"The editor's rendering 'wall' does not quite give the exact meaning of the word. The word means 'partition' and seems to be used here in the sense of 'frail' and 'shaky fence' as opposed to the ח'ץ (CD IV:12), the 'strong stone fence' of the sect. The opponents of the Sect are accused of having removed the ancient boundary at the instigation of "the man of mockery", the "preacher of lies" (I:14; V:20), and of having afterwards erected a בונ' which they daubed with untempered mortar (VIII:12; XIX:24). In the place of the stringent rule of the Sect, which the latter claimed to have been the original Law of God as revealed to the ancient, their opponents set up a lax discipline which must lead to irreligion"³.

1: 1QH IV:16-18a

2: For the identification בונ' הח'ץ (CD V:20; XIX:15) = בונ' החוץ (CD IV:19; VIII:12), cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.23

3: M.H.Segal, "Notes on 'Fragments of a Zadokite Work' by Schechter", JQR, NS 2 (1911), p.134;

The distinction which is drawn here between the $\gamma\tau\lambda$ of the community and the $\gamma\tau\eta$ of its opponents, makes it increasingly clear that the question of the sect's superiority rested precisely on this question of the law and its proper interpretation¹. It was their aim to bring about reform in this interpretation which formed the doctrinal basis for their eventual secession from the temple.

4. Summary

Thus far, we have seen that the community's secession from Jerusalem came into effect under the influence of fundamental doctrinal issues. Such differences of dogma were mainly concerned with the laws of purity and, in particular, with the whole question of the law and its interpretation. The community accused its opponents of perverting and distorting the revealed will of God as it is mediated through the law of Moses and through the writings of the prophets. We shall now attempt to define more precisely the covenantal implications of these issues.

1: M.Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins, Edinburgh, 1961, p.118: "...it was its secession in attempting to reform the law which led to its formation as a sect". H.Braun, Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus, Vol.I, Tübingen, 1957, p.15: "Denn hier in der Sekte bildet die radikale Torahbeachtung den Hauptgrund für die Trennung vom offiziellen Judentum und für die Konstituierung einer eigenen Gemeinde". G.Vermes, Les Manuscrits du Désert de Judah, Tournai, 1954, p.110: "C'est l'attachement à la Torah qui avait motivé leur secession". D.S.Russell, Between the Testaments, London, 1960, p.49: "The Torah was the very ground-work of Judaism.. This is not to say, however, that all the parties agreed on the significance of the Torah and its interpretation...Whereas their loyalty to the Torah was a bond of union, their conception of it was a constant cause of division among them". Cf. J.Maier, *Op.cit.*, Jud 18, (1962), p.239.

CHAPTER II

THE DILEMMA OF THE COVENANT

1. Introduction

Thus far, we have discovered that there existed a serious doctrinal crisis between the Qumran community and its opponents. We have seen that the main issues of this conflict centered around the problem of the torah and its interpretation. However, the highly critical and antagonistic attitude of the community toward its contemporaries will remain incomprehensible unless we attempt to understand it in the wider context of the community's understanding of covenant.

2. Torah interpretation and Covenant allegiance

A fact, which the texts make abundantly clear, is that the doctrinal crisis, which was concerned with the law and its interpretation, was, in fact, a crisis of covenant. Thus frequently disobedience to the law is understood as an act of violation of the covenant itself:

"For they have walked in the way which is not good and have despised (Thy) Co(venant) and their soul has detested Thy (precepts) and they have not delighted in all Thy commands and have chosen that which Thou hatest. Thou hast created all (them) that

(despise) Thy (will) to execute great judgments against them"¹.

This torah disobedience, we concluded, revolves around the question of its proper interpretation. Thus, the distortion and falsification of such interpretation, "words of straying", is itself regarded as an act of covenant violation:

"Like their companions who turned back with the men of mockery, they will be judged for uttering words of straying against the precepts...and for having despised the covenant and the pact which they made in the land of Damascus"².

A similar relationship between distortion of the law and the covenant exists in CD V:11b-13a:

"With a blaspheming tongue (they) have opened their mouth against the precepts of the covenant, saying, They are not true! But it is an abominable thing they utter concerning them."

Again, in 1QH IV:16, the opponents are called the " prophets of falsehood" for they have rejected the true revelation of God's will and say concerning "the vision of knowledge, It is not true".

Therefore, they too "have fallen away from the covenant" (line 19).

Again, the writer of 1QpH II speaks of those "who betrayed the new covenant"and who did not "believe in the covenant of God" because they refused to believe in the revealed word of God mediated through their leader (lines 2-4a).

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- 1: 1QH XV:18-19a; There is sufficient evidence to justify the restoration (הַכֹּחַ) 11. a) The verb סָלַף, "to despise", is used with בְּרִית in CD XX:10b-11a; b) The writer contrasts those who obey the covenant in line 15 with those "who despise the covenant" in line 18 ; c) the same sequence "way", "law", "covenant" occurs in 2 Esdras 7:22: "They ignored His ways, they scorned His law and denied His covenants". cf. M.Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns, Leiden, 1961, p.184;(n.3,4); S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot, Psalms from Qumran, Aarhus, 1960, p.231 (n.23)
- 2: CD XX:10b-12a;

The frequent references to the opponents of the community as "the wicked of the covenant"¹; "those who have betrayed the covenant"²; "the wicked (who) rose against (the) covenant"³; "who have fallen away from the covenant"⁴; "who despise the covenant"⁵; "who know not His covenant"⁶, are not merely coincidental. According to the Qumran community, "the removers of the bounds", "the prophets of falsehood", "the men of mockery" and "the seekers of smooth things" have disobeyed and falsified the law of God, the vehicle of His revealed will and, in so doing, have violated the covenant relationship between God and His people.

This violation of the covenant is not confined to a small group within Judaism. According to the community, the entire nation has been infected with the disease of infidelity and disobedience. CD I:13 speaks of "those that have departed from the way", who were led astray by a "man of mockery" (718517 W³X) and who, in turn, caused others to betray the covenant (lines 18-20a). Whereas the patriarchs were God's covenanters forever by keeping "the commandments of God", all succeeding generations have "abandoned the covenant of God"⁷. The entire record of Israel's history is a concrete witness to the nations inability to observe the covenant and its demands.

1: 1QM I:2
2: 1QpH II:4
3: 1QH IV:34
4: 1QH IV:19
5: 1QH XV:18; CD XX:11
6: 1QS V:19
7: CD IIII: 1-12

3. The Curse of the Covenant

a) The Covenant Renewal Formulation

According to the Qumran community, Israel's infidelity to the law and her violation of the covenant must inevitably result in her total rejection from the sphere of God's covenant. This idea is particularly evident in the context of the covenant renewal ceremony of 1QS I:16-II:19.

Scholars have been aware of a remarkable inter-relationship between the writings of Qumran and the Book of Jubilees¹. The latter places the covenant renewal festival in the context of the Feast of Weeks, celebrated annually on the fifteenth day of the third month of the year². The majority of scholars agree that the same cultic event provides the 'Sitz im Leben' ~~background~~ for the covenant renewal ceremony of 1QS³.

It is significant that the Book of Jubilees associates the Feast of Weeks, to some extent, with the Abraham covenant and, more particularly, with the Sinai covenant:⁴

1: Fragments of the Book of Jubilees were found at Qumran. cf. F.M. Cross, *Op.cit.*, p.34; J.T.Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London, 1959, p.32; D.Barthélemy-J.T.Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, Oxford, 1956, p.82-84;

2: M.Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses du Livre des Jubilées*, Genève-Paris, 1960, p.149; A.Arens, *Die Psalmen im Gottesdienst des Alten Bundes*, Trier, 1961, pp.143-149;

3: M.Weise, *Kultzeiten und Kultischer Bundesschluss in der 'Ordensregel' vom Toten Meer*, Leiden, 1961, pp.84-86; F.M.Cross, *Op.cit.*, p.66 (n. 74); J.T.Milik, *Op.cit.*, p. 103, pp.116-118;

4: According to Exodus 19:1, the Sinai covenant took place in the third month, following the Exodus. No other date is given. Later Jewish tradition identified the Feast of Weeks, in the third month, with this redemptive event. cf. Ex.R. ad.loc.; b.Sab.88a; b.Pes.68b;

"For this reason it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the Feast of Weeks in this month once a year to renew the covenant once a year. And this whole festival was celebrated in heaven from the days of creation till the days of Noah...and from the day of Noah's death, his sons did away with it till the days of Abraham...but Abraham observed it and Isaac and Jacob observed it to thy days, and in thy days, the children of Israel forgot it, until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain"¹.

There is some evidence to suggest that, well before the actual composition of the Book of Jubilees, the renewal of the covenant on the Feast of Weeks was linked to the history of Israel and was interpreted as a commemoration of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai². In any case, by the time of the Qumran community, the link between these two events appears to have been well established. The covenant of the Feast of Weeks was renewed through the recitation of the law of Moses and through the act of rededication to this law by the cultic congregation³.

The association of the covenant renewal of the Feast of Weeks with the Sinai covenant suggests that the former was, in fact, a ritualistic re-expression of the covenant concluded with Israel on Mount Sinai: "the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it

1: Jubilees 6:17ff

2: W.Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, London, 1960, p.128, suggests that the history of the nation was not linked to the Feast of weeks until 100 A.D. In Deuteronomy 16:9, however, the festival is clearly linked to the Exodus and the giving of the law; (cf. vs.12).

3: cf. Th.C.Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, Oxford, 1962, p.285; A.Arens, Op.cit., p.145;

anew on this mountain". A.Arens has produced evidence to show that the covenantal formulation of Exodus 19:3b-8 has again found expression in the cultic event described in the Book of Jubilees¹. The entire section is to be assigned to the oldest sources of the Pentateuch². J.Muilenburg and K.Baltzer have clearly distinguished the separate elements of this covenantal "Gattung" and have shown it to consist of: a) An oracular introduction (vs.3b). b) A historical prologue (vs.4). c) A declaration of the covenant conditions with conditional blessings and curses (vs.5-6). d) A declaration of allegiance by the cultic congregation (vs.8)³. A form-critical analysis of other ceremonies, such as those contained in Exodus 20:2-17; 24:3-8; Joshua 24:1ff, and others in the book of Deuteronomy, will reveal that the underlying pattern of these formulations conforms to the "Gattung" of Exodus 19:3b-8⁴. The basic formulation of Exodus 19:3b-8, remained central in subsequent covenant renewals⁵.

The affinity between the covenant renewal of the Feast of Weeks and the covenant "Gattung" of Ex.19:3b-8, has led scholars to suggest

1: A.Arens, Op.cit., p.143f.

2: For a more detailed discussion and substantial bibliography, cf. H.H.Rowley, The Faith of Israel, London, 1956, p.69 (n.3);

3: cf. J.Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations", VT 9 (1959), pp.347 - 366 (cf.pp.351-357); K.Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, Neukirchen, 1960, p.37;

4: cf. W.Beyerlin, Herkunft und Geschichte der Ältesten Sinai Traditionen, Tübingen, 1961, pp.78-85;

5: J.Muilenburg, Op.cit., VT 9 (1959), p.352: "What we have in Ex.XIX: 3-6 is a special covenantal Gattung, and it is scarcely too much to say that it is in nuce the fons et origo of the many covenantal pericopes which appear throughout the Old Testament".

that the formulation of 1QS, which was also observed in this cultic event, conforms to the same basic pattern¹. While, admittedly, there are traces of the survival of ancient traditions, it becomes immediately apparent that significant modifications have taken place²:

a) There is no oracular introduction. b) The historical prologue is extremely brief (1QS I:21,22). c) There is no reference to the reading of the law or covenant conditions. d) There is no formal declaration of allegiance. Even the words, "behold, I make a covenant" of Ex.34:10, are found wanting. What does stand out in emphatic relief, however, is a prayer of confession (lines 25-26); a pronouncement of blessings for the community (II:2-4) and an elaborate enunciation of curses upon the "men of Belial's lot"(lines 5-10) and upon the backsliders of the community (lines 12-19). The entire ceremony appears to rest on these three elements.

The Confession - 1QS I:25-26

It appears in the form, "we have perverted ourselves, we have transgressed, we have sinned". The same order of words is followed in Leviticus 16:21 in connection with the scapegoat sacrifice. It became a standard form of confession when recited by the high priest in the temple on the Day of Atonement³. J.M. Baumgarten rightly suggests "that

1: cf. K.Baltzer, Op.cit., p.30f.

2: For a form-critical examination of this ceremony, cf. F.Baumgartel, "Zur Liturgie in der 'Sektenrolle' vom Toten Meer", ZAW 65 (1953), pp.263-265; cf. M.Weise, Op.cit., p.111 (n.3);

3: Mishna Yoma III:8; IV:2; VI:2;

the confession in DSD was derived from the ancient formula used in the temple at Jerusalem¹. Its presence in the context of a covenant renewal is reminiscent of Ps.78,105,106²; Ezra 9:6ff; Neh. 9:16ff. and Daniel 9:4ff.

The Blessing - 1QS II:2-5

The blessing is an expansion of the blessing of Aaron found in Numbers 6:24-26. It also was recited daily at the temple of Jerusalem³. There are numerous examples of its occurrence in the context of a covenant renewal⁴.

The Curse - 1QS II:5-19

The curse, as well, formed an integral part of temple worship⁵. The priest assumed the role of Yahweh's representative and, in this capacity, pronounced a judgment within the cult⁶. As part of a covenant renewal ceremony, it finds many parallels in Hittite and Akkadian texts⁷. Curiously, it does not occur in the early sources and emerges into prominence only in the later traditions⁸.

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- 1: J.M.Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea Qumran Scrolls", HTR 46 (1953), p.159;
 - 2: A.Weiser, Die Psalmen, Göttingen, 1950, p.446, points out that Ps.105 and 106 are cult hymns which had a sacramental significance at the annual renewal of the covenant.
 - 3: Mishna Tamid V:1; Sotah VII:2; Rosh Hashana IV:5; Ta'anit IV:1;
 - 4: Ex.23:22; Lev.26:12; Nu.32:20; Dt.8:18; 11:13-15; 28:1-6; 30:15-20; Judg.9:15,16-20; 1Sam.7:3-4; 1Kings 6:12-13; etc.
 - 5: Mishna Sota VII:8
 - 6: cf. W.Zimmerli, " 'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buche des Propheten Ezechiel", TZ 13 (1957), pp.494-508; H.G.Reventlow, "Das Amt des Mazkir", TZ 15 (1959), pp.161-175 (cf.pp.172-173)
 - 7: cf. M.Noth, "Die mit des Gesetzes Werken umgehen, die sind unter dem Fluch", GSAT, München, 1957, pp.162-164;
 - 8: Compare the earlier sources in Ex.19:3b-8; 24:3-8 with the later ones mentioned in note 4 on this page.

It appears then that the essential elements of the covenant renewal of 1QS, the blessing, the curse and the confession, the pronouncement of which was the official function of the priests in the temple at Jerusalem, have now been incorporated into the cultic life of the Qumran community, with the priests again acting as official functionaries¹. However, it should at once be noted that these elements are now applied to a radically different situation: Rosh Hashanah IV:5 informs us that the blessing was pronounced not as an independent unity, but was recited along with "the temple service" and the "thanksgiving". The priests of Qumran have taken this benediction out of its original context, expanded and modified it, and given it an independent status. Again, Ta'anit IV:1 gives the instruction that the priestly benediction (Nu.6:24-26) is to be said on three days of the year and four times on those days (at the "morning prayer", at the "additional prayer" and at the "afternoon prayer", "at the closing of the gates"). The Qumran community again removed it from its original cultic context and applied it to their covenant renewal ceremony which was to be repeated only once a year².

The following solutions appear to be evident:

- a) The essential elements, the confession, the blessing and the curse, were derived from the worship of the Jerusalem temple.

1: Priests are again given a position of priority. cf. 1QS I:21-23a; II:1b-2a; 4b-5a; etc. cf. J.M.Baumgarten, Op.cit., HTR 46 (1953), p.159
2: 1QS II:19 : "This is what they shall do, year by year".

b) These elements were removed from their original cultic setting and were incorporated into the covenant ceremony of the community because they could be modified to conform to its theological outlook. The confession, the blessing and the curse were applied to the new situation of the community in order to give expression to its own sectarian perspectives.

c) While some of the elements of ancient covenantal formulations were preserved, such as the historical prologue, in essence, the structure of the covenant ceremony of IQS is original.

These conclusions provide a satisfactory explanation for the radical modifications which have taken place and, at the same time, give us a valuable insight into the theological motives which led the community to formulate its covenant ceremony in this way. It should be remembered that we are dealing with a priestly sect with apocalyptic tendencies. Just as historical and prophetic scriptures could be interpreted typologically, could be applied to a contemporary situation and could be made to conform to a theological perspective, so too, liturgical formulations could be modified to fulfill the same purpose.

b) The Curse in the Old Testament and in the Qumran Texts

The question arises: "what are the theological motives which led the community to reformulate its covenant liturgy?". Again, the temple liturgy provides the answer. Sotah VII:8 states that the blessing and the curse were pronounced after the recitation of the

Shema (Deut.6:4f). Tamid V:1 amplifies this: "They recited a benediction, the ten commandments and the shema". The blessing and the curse were not pronounced in isolation but were regarded as integral parts of the declaration of the covenant law, and the effectiveness of either one depended largely on the obedience or disobedience of the people to this law. Similarly, in the Book of Jubilees, the recitation of the law of Moses, accompanied by a congregational declaration of allegiance to that law, was found to form an essential element of the covenant renewal ceremony. This close inter-dependence of law and covenant explains also the recurring motif of the curse and blessing in the Old Testament¹.

"If you walk in my statutes and observe my commandments then...I will have regard for you and make you fruitful and multiply you and I will confirm my covenant with you...And I will walk among you and I will be your God and you shall be my people....But if you will not hearken to me and will not do all these commandments, if you spurn my statutes and if your soul abhors my ordinances, so that you will not do all my commandments, but break my covenant, I will do this to you: I will appoint over you sudden terror"².

It is in Deuteronomy, in particular, that the tension between Yahweh's election and His rejection, between blessing and curse, comes to clearest expression:

"Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: the blessing if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God; which I command you this day, and the curse if you do not obey the commandments"³.

1: cf. S.Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, Oxford, 1962, pp.44-50;
2: Lev. 26:3,9,12,14;
3: Deut. 11:26;

Although the threat of Israel's rejection plays a dominant role in the theology of the Deuteronomist, we now have the introduction of a new element: the need for repentance. In 2 Kings 22:11-14 and 2 Chron. 29:5-11, for instance, the acceptance of the covenant obligations by the cultic congregation was regarded, in itself, as sufficient for the renewal of the covenant. In Deuteronomy, the curse is regarded as being imminent (Deut. 29:21-30:10), but it is understood as flowing from a sympathetic God who has the interests of His people at heart¹. Hence, the curse is understood as having an educational value through which Israel will repent and return. Israel must learn and repent if she is to enjoy again the benefits of the covenant²:

"When you are in tribulation and all these things come upon you in the latter days, you will return to the Lord your God and obey His voice"³.

The Qumran community places a similar emphasis upon the need for repentance. For this reason, the prayer of confession, the cultic act of repentance, occupies such an important place in the covenant formulation. But the community has progressed still a step further. The confession is followed by the words:

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- 1: cf. L.Köhler, Theologie des Alten Testaments, Tübingen, 1947, p.66; W.Eichrodt, Op.cit. Vol.I, p.458: "The aim ..was not an annihilating judgment that would dissolve the covenant, but rather the maintenance of that relationship by the removal of disturbing elements".
- 2: Th.C.Vriezen, Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament, AthANT 24, Zürich, 1953, p.103: "Die älteste deuteronomische Predigt ist von einem solchen Radikalismus, dass für sie nur die Alternative gibt: alles oder nichts".
- 3: Deut. 4:30

"And just is God who has fulfilled His judgment against us and against our fathers. But he extends his gracious mercy towards us for ever and ever¹."

The process of divine judgment has been completed. The community itself was not exempt from this judgment : "against us and against our fathers". But they understood its educational value, they learned and repented. They are "the converts of the desert"²; "Those who are converted from the sin of Jacob, who have kept the covenant of God"³. Therefore, God forgave them and once again they have become partakers of the covenant with God, for He forgives them "that are converted from sin"⁴. He has extended "His gracious mercy" for ever and ever.

The priests, "the men of mockery" at Jerusalem, on the other hand, have rejected "the law of God and the word of the Holy One of Israel"⁵. They not only sinned, but failed to repent and continued to walk in "the stubbornness of their heart"⁶. In contrast with the community, they did what was good in their own eyes, chose the stubbornness of their hearts and did not withdraw from the people of the land and their sin⁷. Therefore, their participation in the covenant is no longer possible for he who conceals "the stubbornness of his

1: 1QS I:26-II:1

2: 4QpPs37, II:1

3: CD XX:17

4: CD II:5

5: 4QpIs^b, II:6

6: CD II:17a-18a

7: CD VIII:7b-8; cf. CD XX:9-10a; 1QS VII:19;

heart, he shall not be justified"¹:

"And because of this the first to enter the covenant (were rendered guilty) and were delivered up to the sword; because they had abandoned the Covenant of God, and because they had chosen their own will, and because they had let themselves be drawn by the stubbornness of their heart"².

"All perverse men who walk in the way of wickedness. For they are not counted in His covenant; for they have not inquired nor sought Him concerning His precepts....that wrath might rise unto judgment and vengeance by the curses of the covenant"³.

According to the Qumran community, there is no longer any choice between election or rejection, between the blessing or the curse. It would have been impossible for them to reiterate the words of the Deuteronomist:

"I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse. Therefore choose life that you and your descendants may live"⁴.

The blessing and the curse are no longer regarded as conditions of the future, dependent upon the obedience or disobedience of the people to the law. The law had been obeyed and disobeyed. So too, the blessing and the curse are actualities, "~~un fait accompli~~"⁵.

We may now conclude that the liturgical formulation of the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS became the vehicle of expression for

1: 1QS III:3; cf. 1QS II:14;

2: CD III:10b-12a;

3: 1QS V:10b-12;

4: Deut. 30:19;

5: cf. CD I:3,17-18; II:1,5-6; III:8b-9a; VIII:1,18; XX:11; etc.

these basic theological convictions of the community. The essential elements, the confession, the blessing and the curse, were removed from their original context in the temple liturgy and were given an independent function in the liturgy of the community. We have seen that the blessing and the curse were not pronounced as part of a declaration of covenant conditions, as had been customary in the Old Testament and in the liturgy of the temple, but were recited in isolation. In this way, the community gave expression to one of its great and fundamental convictions. The community had again become a partaker of the covenant and a recipient of its blessings. The opponents had been rejected and alienated from the covenant. In this way the community sought to resolve the tension which had always existed between the blessing and the curse.

4. The Crisis of the Covenant

The realisation that the nation and its leaders stood under the curse of the covenant created what may be described as a crisis of the covenant. This can be best illustrated with reference to the Old Testament.

Fundamentally, God's covenant with Israel is timeless (Dsiy Ty). Its strength and its continuation rest on Yahweh who mediates His elective activity through the processes and events of history¹. This

1: cf. A.Weiser, Glaube und Geschichte im Alten Testament, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 99-182 (cf. pp. 101-102); K.Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel", ZAW 67 (1955), p. 212; W.Eichrodt, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 42;

understanding of history and election is evident in the historical prologue which formed an essential element of the covenant formulation¹. In this prologue, Israel recalled the mighty acts of Yahweh in history and interpreted them as a concrete manifestation of His elective work:

"You have seen what I did to the Egyptians
and how I bore you on eagles' wings"².

Here, the emphasis is on Yahweh's leadership in history, a theme which finds expression in other covenant formulations, as well³.

Election, however, is not looked upon as a passport to privilege but as an incentive to serve the God who has elected. Thus, almost invariably, the historical prologue is followed by a declaration of the covenant conditions:

"Now therefore, if you will obey my voice
and keep my covenant, you shall be my own
possession among all peoples"⁴.

"Now therefore, fear the Lord and serve Him
in sincerity and in faithfulness"⁵.

The continuation of the covenant hinges on the obedient response to the elective initiative of Yahweh. A covenant renewal becomes necessary then at times of great political and national crisis, or when Israel has broken her covenant pledge. The type of crisis which emerges from this broken pledge comes clearly to the foreground

1: cf. J. Muilenburg, *Op.cit.*, VT 9 (1959), p.347ff;

2: Ex. 19:4

3: cf. Josh.24:2-13; Deut. 29:1-7; Neh.9; Ezra 9; Daniel 9:4b-9; Josh.23; 1Sam.12; etc.; cf. J.Schreiner, "Führung:Thema der Heil^sgeschichte im Alten Testament", BZ 5 (1961), pp.2-18;

4: Ex.19:5;

5: Josh.24:14;

in 2 Chron. 15:2. The covenant itself is in peril and it is under the threat of a curse and the possibility of rejection that the covenant is renewed (vs.12). A similar crisis of the covenant is evident in Josh.23:16 :

"If you transgress the covenant of the Lord your God, which He commanded you, and go and serve other gods and bow down to them, then the anger of the Lord will be kindled against you".

Other accounts of covenant renewals reveal very similar situations:

2 Kings 22-23 (22:11-14):

Here, as in Ex.24:3-8, the ספר הברית is the basis of the covenant renewal. The king reads ספר הברית and pronounces the impending curse over the assembly¹. The covenant is renewed and the motive for its renewal is given in vs.13: "For great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us".

2 Chronicles 29:5-11 :

The account describes the covenant renewal under king Hezekiah. The historical prologue has been replaced by a recapitulation of the past sins of Israel. The covenant is again in peril for Yahweh's "sword" has fallen upon Jerusalem (vs.8,9). The motive for renewal is given in vs.10: " Now it is in my heart to make a covenant with the Lord, the God of Israel, that His fierce anger may turn away from us".

1: 2 Chron. 34:24 explicitly links the "book of the covenant" with the curse: "all the curses that are written in the book". Note also the relationship of "the book of the law" and the curse in the covenant renewals of Neh. 9:3; Daniel 9:11 and Deut. 29:21;

In each of the above cases, it is the threat of the curse and the possibility of rejection which place the covenant in peril and thus constitute a "crisis of the covenant". The covenant is renewed after a declaration of allegiance which is intended to appease Yahweh's anger and to mitigate the impending curse.

According to the Qumran community, however, Israel's rejection from the covenant is no longer a future threat but an established fact. The nation has brought upon itself the "curse of the covenant", "unto eternal destruction without remnant". Therefore, annulment of God's curse could no longer be achieved, at least not within Israel, through a renewal of the covenant. As a result, the "crisis of the covenant", which confronted the community, had serious and far-reaching implications. What was at stake was the whole covenant relationship between Yahweh and Israel and, indeed, the very continuity of Israel's history of salvation. The reality of this crisis in the theology of the community, comes to clear expression in CD I:8f:

"And they understood their iniquity and
recognized that they were guilty men.
But they were like blind men, and like
men who groping seek their way".

This passage seems to indicate that, while the community had repented of its errors, it was as yet undecided about the future destiny of the covenant people and, indeed, about the continuation of the covenant relationship itself. We shall see how the community sought to resolve this dilemma of the covenant.

5. Summary

In this chapter, we have attempted to understand the emphatic polemical attitude of the community toward its opponents in the wider context of the covenant.

We have seen that falsification and distortion of the revealed law of God is understood to be essentially a violation of the covenant.

Our study of the covenant formulation in 1QS has enabled us to understand the type of crisis which emerged from this transgression of the covenant pledge. The emphasis placed upon the blessing and the curse in this formulation, and their isolation from any recitation of the law, were understood to give expression to the community's conviction concerning its own election and the rejection of its opponents from the sphere of God's covenant.

The conviction that the entire covenant nation stands under the sign of the curse, created a serious theological crisis. Similar situations of covenant crises were found to exist in the Old Testament. It is at the threat of the curse that the covenant is renewed by a new declaration of allegiance on the part of Israel. According to the community, however, this rejection from the covenant was regarded as being final and complete. What was at stake then was, not only the covenant relationship, but also Israel's history of salvation.

The clear emphasis of the blessing upon the community gives us a hint that the community did arrive at a solution to the dilemma of the covenant. How this was achieved, we shall now set out to discover.

CHAPTER III

THE SINAI COVENANT ORTHODOXY

1. Introduction

The outstanding hallmark of apocalyptic writing is its distinct belief in the fundamental unity of history. Within the apparent confusion of historical events, there stands the unfailing and irrevocable purpose of God, progressing and moving toward its ultimate fulfillment through and by means of these events¹. A characteristic expression of this belief in the unity of history is a typological view of history which places past and present events in relation to each other and interprets them as being linked to each other by a common redemptive quality. Though separated in time, the same redemptive purpose of God can be traced through these events².

We shall see how, by means of such a typological correlation of past and contemporary history, the Qumran community succeeded in solving the dilemma of the covenant.

1: cf. H.H.Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, London, 1944, p.142;
2: cf. D.S.Russell, Op.cit., pp.104-109;

2. The Desert-Exile

a) The Messiah and the Desert-Exiles

The majority of scholars are agreed that the Qumran community understood its sojourn at Qumran to be only a temporary exile from its deserved place in the temple at Jerusalem. Indeed, it can be said that they experienced a definite kinship with the Jews of the great dispersion in Babylon¹. The strongest textual criterion for such a view is CD VII:14-15 :

"I will exile the 'Sikkuth' of your king
and the 'Kiyyun' of your images from my
tent in (sic) Damascus".

G.Vermes has shown that in Palestinian tradition "Damascus" has lost its limited geographical reference and has come to symbolize the focal point of the eschatological kingdom: the seat of the new sanctuary, the gathering place of the exiles and the locale of the appearance of the messiah². A similar link between the exile of "Damascus" and the messiah is evident in CD VII:18-20a:

"And the Star is the Seeker of the Law
who shall come to Damascus (רֹשֶׁת חַיִּי);
as it is written, A star has journeyed
out of Jacob and a sceptre is risen out
of Israel"³.

Agreement regarding the messianic intentions of this passage is by no means universal. C.Rabin identifies "The Star" with "the

1: cf. Appendix

2: G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, Leiden, 1961, p.49;

3: The quotation is from Nu.24:17, which recurs in modified form in 1QM XI:6;

Rod" (*ppins*) of CD VI:7, who has already come to "Damascus"¹.

N.Wieder and C.T.Fritsch make a similar identification and see in these figures the "Teacher of Righteousness", the leader of the community². This was also the original position of G.Vermes³.

However, he has now changed this position and admits the prophetic nature of the passage:

"The omission of any reference to the "Star-god" is made good by introducing a very different "Star", the Messianic "Interpreter of the Law"....The "Star" is the Interpreter of the Law who shall come to Damascus"⁴.

The messianic implications of this passage have now also been accepted by A.S.v.d.Woude⁵, H.Kosmala⁶, J.Maier⁷, A.Jaubert⁸ and others⁹.

The real crux of the problem lies in the meaning of the word *xl* in line 19. Those scholars who accept the interpretation, "Star", (CD VII:18) = "Rod", (CD VI:7), translate it as a perfect tense: "who came". This is the translation suggested by C.Rabin¹⁰. The original

1: C.Rabin, *Op.cit.*, p.30 (n.18³). cf. P.M.-J. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1931, p.334;

2: N.Wieder, *Op.cit.*, JJS 4 (1953), pp.165-172; C.T.Fritsch, *The Qumran Community, its History and Scrolls*, New York, 1956, p.81; The latter interprets "the Star" to allude to a new leader after the community has migrated to the Syrian Damascus.

3: G.Vermes, "La Figure de Moïse au tournant des Deux Testaments", *extrait de, Moïse, l'Homme de l'Alliance*, CS, Paris, 1955, p.83;

4: G.Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p.96;

5: A.S.v.d.Woude, *Op.cit.*, p.54;

6: H.Kosmala, *Op.cit.*, p.406;

7: J.Maier, *Op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.53 (n.18);

8: A.Jaubert, "Le Pays de Damas", RB 65 (1958), p.232;

9: A.Dupont-Sommer, "L'Ecrit de Damas", *Evidences* 60 (1956), p.26 (n.83); J.M.Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Pelican Books, 1956, p.148; The latter identifies "the Star" with the Teacher of Righteousness who is to come in the figure of an Aaronic messiah. On the basis of its use in the above-quoted passage, however, there is no warrant for such an identification.

10: C.Rabin, *Op.cit.*, p.30

intention of the expositor becomes clearer, however, in the light of line 15. Here he transmits an almost word for word quotation from Amos 5:26-27, with one notable exception. He has deliberately omitted the words "Kaiwan your star-god" of vs.26 in order to avoid the inference that "the Star" of which he is speaking has been exiled with the Sikkuth and the Kiyyun to "Damascus". Rabin, who was aware of this problem, suggests that the words, "and the Star your God" must be supplied in the light of Acts 7:43 :

"And you took up the ^hte^h of Moloch and the
star of the God Rephan".

This quotation, however, rests on a later Christian tradition and could not have influenced the expositor of CD. In addition, there is no lacuna in the text of CD to suggest a possible omission in the process of transmission. G.Vermes is right when he says that "the omission of any reference to the "star-god" is made good by introducing a very different "star", the messianic "Interpreter of the Law"². The expositor has deliberately missed the "star-god" of Amos 5:26, for the "Star" of which he speaks is yet to come in the fulfillment of time. Hence, a most suitable translation is "shall come"³. "The Star" is the "Seeker of the Law" who is to be the future messiah of the New Israel in the land of "Damascus".

1: C.Rabin, Op.cit., p.29 (14²);

2: G.Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p.96;

3: A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.54;

The Damascus Exile-Messiah identification is interesting for, according to another tradition, it was more precisely the Desert of Judah, of which Qumran forms a part, which was to be the locale of the messiah's appearance:

"The ultimate redeemer will keep appearing and disappearing. How long will he be hidden from them? Forty-five days (or:years?). And where will he lead them? Into the desert of Judah"¹.

According to Jewish tradition, then, the messiah is to appear among the exiles in the desert. It is therefore not at all surprising to find that the Qumran community, combining these ideas of exile and desert, actually spoke of its sojourn as a "desert-exile" (דְּבַר הַדְּבַר)². Their future messiah will come to the "Damascus" (Qumran) exiles in "the desert of Judah".

An analogous equation of exile and desert is found in the writings of the P theologian of the Pentateuch. The "Sitz im Leben" of this theologian is the exile³. An analysis of the texts reveals a conscious rejection of the "Kulturlandtraditionen" and a return to

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- 1: Canticum Rabbah II:22; cf. M.R.Lehmann, "Talmudic Material relating to the Dead Sea Scrolls", RDQ I (1958/59), p.394; A.Neher, "Echos de la Secte de Qumran dans la littérature talmudique," in, Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte, Paris, 1957, pp.49-57; L.Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Vol.II, p.373; Vol. III; pp.312-315;
 - 2: It is possible that the expositor of CD VII:18-19 echoes the words of 1 Kings 19:15, directed to Elijah: "Go, return on your way to the wilderness of Damascus". (דְּבַר הַדְּבַר דְּבַר הַדְּבַר); There appears to be sufficient textual tradition to equate "Damascus" with both, an exile and a desert sojourn. cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.49: "Somit vereinigen sich im Gedanken des Wüstenzils neue Mosezeit und neues Exil". For the expression "desert-exile", cf. 1QM I:2;
 - 3: cf.W.Beyerlin, Op.cit., p.8f, who dates P ca. 600-500 BC;

the ancient traditions of the desert¹. L.Rost suggests that the desert-orthodoxy of P could have been motivated by the great similarity of the physical conditions of the exile with those of Israel's desert existence under Moses². It is quite likely that a similar thought process has led the Qumran community to identify its existence in exile with the earlier desert sojourn of Israel and to speak of it as a "desert-exile".

b) Typological Interpretation

In 1QM I:2a-3, the members of the community are called "the exiled Sons of Light (who) return from the desert of the peoples"³. The expression "Desert of the Peoples" is a clear quotation from Ezekiel 20:35ff:

"And I will bring you into the desert of the peoples and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face.. As I entered into

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- 1: This desert-orthodoxy of P is particularly evident in the use of הַקָּדֹשׁ instead of הַמִּקְדָּשׁ , the former representing the cultic congregation, assembling itself around the הַקָּדֹשׁ , the theophanic centre of the desert. Also the use of מִדְבָּר for דְּבָר and א'ו' for י'ו' , reflects similar inclinations. cf. A.Kuschke, "Die Lager-vorstellung der priesterlichen Erzählung, ZAW 63 (1951), p.101: "Deshalb also verlegt P diese Einrichtung als das ihm Selbstverständliche und Gegebene in die Wüstenzeit zurück". The terminological parallels between P and Qumran are abundant. The word הַקָּדֹשׁ is used 83 times with reference to the sect itself. Similarly א'ו' (9 times); and מִדְבָּר (62 times);
 - 2: L.Rost, Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament, Stuttgart, 1938, p.38; cf. A.Kuschke, Op.cit., ZAW 63 (1951), p.99;
 - 3: According to A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.120,172, "the exiled sons of light" are the exiles who were still scattered after the diaspora in Babylon and who will unite with the people of Qumran in the desert of Jerusalem. I agree, however, with J.v.d.Ploeg, "La Règle de la Guerre", VT 5 (1955), p.394, that the expression refers to the community itself. cf. J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.112 (n.3).

judgment with your fathers in the desert
of the land of Egypt, so will I enter
into judgment with you".

The prophet understood the "desert of the peoples" to be the eschatological counterpart of the "desert of the land of Egypt," the latter being the area into which Israel was led after the Exodus event. When it was used by the writer of 1QM, it was understood as the desert of Qumran, the gathering place of the exiled "Sons of Light".¹ The connection with the Mosaic period has been maintained, however. For this reason, they attributed the titles, "Sons of Levi, Judah and Benjamin" to themselves to serve as a lasting reminder of their kinship with the ancient tribal confederacy of the original desert community.² According to Ezekiel, the eschatological "desert of the peoples" would become the sphere of divine judgment, just as "the desert in the land of Egypt" had been in the Mosaic period. So too, for the Qumran community, the "desert-exile" at Qumran would reiterate the actual conditions which existed during the desert sojourn of Israel under Moses.

The quoted passage 1QM I:2-3, as well as the allusion to an exile in "the land of Damascus in CD VII:15f., presents an interesting

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- 1: J.v.d.Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre, Leiden, 1959, p.58 : "Selon le parallélisme de cette expression avec les textes cités d'Ezéchiél, on est amené à penser au 'désert' où l'on vit après avoir quitté Jérusalem".
 - 2: J.v.d.Ploeg, Ibid, p.58 : "Les Lévites, Les Fils de Judah et les Fils de Benjamin sont les membres de la secte qui c'est donc recrutée dans ces tribus de l'ancienne royaume de Judah".

example of apocalyptic exegesis which depends upon a typological understanding of history¹. Prophetic words, which allude to past historical events, are seen as being fulfilled, and the events themselves as being once again operative in the present². Thus, the reference to an exile in Amos 5:26-27 is understood as being fulfilled in the community's secession from Jerusalem and is identified with the "desert of the peoples" of Ezekiel 20:35, the place of retreat at Qumran. There are a number of other examples of this typological exegesis of Old Testament prophecy through which the community understood its own desert existence as a reiteration of the desert life of ancient Israel. These we shall briefly examine.

3. The Exodus

"And when these things come to pass for the community in Israel at these appointed times, they shall be separated from the midst of the habitation of perverse men to go into the desert (רִדְּתָם בַּמִּדְבָּר) to prepare the way of 'Him' as it is written, 'In the wilderness prepare the way of . . . , Make straight in the desert a highway for our God'".

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- 1: F.M.Cross, *Op.cit.*, p.85 : "Apocalyptic exegesis involves a certain type of typology"; p.86: "Apocalyptic exegesis often takes an ancient figure and projects it into the eschatological future". cf. J.v.d.Ploeg, "Bybelverklaring", *Mededelingen* 23 (1960), p.225; cf. F.C.Grant, Ancient Judaism and the New Testament, London-Edinburgh, 1960, p.91 (n.3);
- 2: K.H.Rengstorff, Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliotheken vom Toten Meer, Stuttgart, 1960, p.20: "Er fügt sich im übrigen gut mit der weiteren Tatsache zusammen, dass das Verständnis der Volksgeschichte und der göttlichen Bestimmung Israels, wie es in diesen Schriften vorliegt, durch die Anschauungen des Deuteronomiums und der Propheten geformt ist".

The quotation above appears in the context of 1QS VIII:1 - IX:11. This section appears to form an independent unity, quite distinct from the rest of the scroll¹. It contains an independent and uniform theme: "separation from the world of perversity"². In addition, it has a distinct eschatological tone, again quite different from the remainder of the scroll³. These references to a future period suggest the possibility that the entire section, 1QS VIII:1-IX:11, is an independent literary source, composed by a faction of the priesthood before its secession from the temple and before its establishment in the desert of Qumran⁴.

1: cf. K.Baltzer, *Op.cit.*, p.116 (n.4); A.S.v.d.Woude, *Op.cit.*, p.236; H.Kosmala, *Op.cit.*, p.285; P.Guilbert, "Plan de la Règle de la Communauté," RDQ I (1958), p.333f;

2: This idea the writer conveys through the use of the word "holy": (וְקִדְשָׁם): "They shall be set apart (as) holy (persons)" (1QS VIII: 11); "Thou hast appointed them to be set apart from the peoples, as a holy thing, for Thyself" (1Q34bis,II:6); cf. F.Nötscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften", RDQ 2 (1959), p.319;

3: "When these things come to pass for the community in Israel, the council of the the community shall be established in truth" (1QS VIII:4b-5a)

"When these things come to pass for the community in Israel, they shall be separated" (1QS VIII:12b-13a)

Also noteworthy are the future tenses in lines 9 and 11 as well as the frequent references to "time": "the norm of time" (line 4). In 1QS IX:14, the expression "the elect of time" is linked to "the time to prepare the way to go into the desert" of line 20.

4: P.Guilbert, *Op.cit.*, RDQ I (1958), p.335 suggests that this entire section was intended for a select elite (*reste fidèle d'Israël*), which separated from the main body of the sect after its retreat to Qumran. They are said to be separated from the "habitation of perverse men" (בְּיִשְׁבֵּי הַפְּעוּרִים), which seems to suggest the opponents in Jerusalem. In line 12, the Exodus is understood to involve the entire community. The words "to the community" (לְכָל הַקְּהִלָּה) are supra-linear and were added by a later corrector. By adding לְכָל הַקְּהִלָּה he wished to avoid the possibility that "Israel" might be understood in a national sense and thus made doubly clear that the community was to participate in the Exodus to the desert.

If the above references to an Exodus into the desert belong to a pre-Qumran phase of development, then we have evidence to believe that already prior to the Hasmonean Issue the community had begun to think about its future secession¹. This means also that this secession was motivated primarily by a theological idealism rather than by the influence of political circumstances². For this reason, they sought authority in the deeply spiritual prophecy of Isaiah 40:3, "prepare the way of Yahweh, make straight in the desert a highway for the Lord". The prophet's imagery is taken from the Exodus event and was addressed to the restored remnant of the Babylonian Diaspora. There is no reason to believe that this symbolic association of the Exodus event with a highway through the desert was wholly unknown to the community³. Indeed,

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- 1: The early nature of this section explains the use of the future tense, the richness of temple symbolism, the distinct priestly use of the word "holy" and corresponds with the view of scholars that 1QS represents a fusion of several literary sources. F.Baumgärtel, *Op.cit.*, ZAW 65, (1953), p.265, suggests that the covenant renewal of 1QS stems from a similar cultic event, celebrated annually in the temple. J.M.Baumgarten, *Op.cit.*, HTR 46, (1953), p.146 also suggests that much of this temple symbolism stems from "a period when the sectarians were still participating in the worship of the temple". Cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, *Op.cit.*, p.84: "Zweitens muss die Abfassung der 'Manual of Discipline' in seiner Urform schon in die Anfangszeit der Sekte stattgefunden haben".
 - 2: G.Vermes, "Moïse", CS (1955), p.79: "L'attitude essénienne est motivée surtout par des considérations théologiques; son exode est pacifique et religieux". Cf., *Les Manuscrits*, p.79. Cf. Cant.Rabbah III:4: "All the good gifts which God gave Israel came from the desert" (כל הטובות אשר נתן לך יהוה באו מן הברכה); also: Midrash Ruth 2:14. Cf. H.L.Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, München, 1954, Vol.I, p.86f; G.Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Stuttgart, 1933, Vol.II, p.655.
 - 3: Note the equation Exodus-Highway in Is.41:18f; 42:16; 49:9-11; 55:12f. Cf. J.Bright, *A History of Israel*, London, 1960, p.237; *The Kingdom of God*, New York, 1953, p.140.

available evidence is in strong support of the view that the community's secession to Qumran found its pattern in the Exodus event and that its entire sojourn there was interpreted in terms of the desert experience of ancient Israel under Moses. The community set out to fulfill the prophecy of Isaiah. Its own Exodus, patterned on the first Exodus, was seen as a literal fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy. It entered the desert of Qumran to prepare a highway for the Lord¹.

4. The Desert Sojourn

"Now from the day when the Unique Teacher was taken (sic), until the overthrow of all the fighting men who turned back with the Man of Lies, (there shall pass) about forty years"².

For the period of forty years, the community found its authority in Deut.2:14³. A passage in 4QpPs37, I:6-8 shows a similar tendency to identify the desert sojourn at Qumran with that of ancient Israel:

"The explanation of this concerns all wickedness: at the end of the forty years they will be wiped out"⁴.

1: G.Vermes, "Moïse", CS, (1955), p.79: "Ce qu'il importe de mettre bien en évidence c'est la réalité de ces Exodes". Cf. M.Burrows, "The Discipline Manual of the Judean Covenanters", OTS 8, (1950), p.164.

2: CD XX:13b-15.

3: The MT has "thirty-eight". "Forty" comprises the entire period in the desert. Cf. Ex.16:35; Deut.2:7; 8:2; cf. 1QDM II:5-6 which is based on Deut.

4: Cf. 1QM II:6-9. The war will last 40 years, including 7 years for preparation and 33 years for actual battle. Cf. J.Carmignac, La Règle de la Guerre, Paris, 1958, pp.32-35; Y.Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, Oxford, 1962, p. 264, (n.6); p.265, (n.9-10).

These are again good examples of typological interpretation whereby scriptural words alluding to past events are made applicable to the present and where the events themselves are thought to be taking place again¹. The Qumran community felt called upon to repeat the experience of the people of Israel who had lived in the desert forty years.²

5. The Mosaic Teacher

a) The Prophet like Moses

"And they shall not depart from any maxim of the law to walk in all the stubbornness of their heart. And they shall be governed by the first ordinances (ס'ושרן ס'סשס) in which the members of the community began their instruction, until the coming of the prophet and the anointed of Aaron and Israel"³

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- 1: Similar forms of exegesis exist in rabbinic sources. Cf. R.Aqiba Sanhedrin 99a, who interprets Deut.8:3 messianically and allots a period of forty years to the messianic era. Cf. P.M.-J. Lagrange, Le Messianisme chez les Juifs, Paris, 1909, p.205f. Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, Vol.III, p.824 (a-b).
 - 2: J.T.Milik, Op.cit., p.116: "They predicted a forty years' period for their stay, showing that they conceived this time as parallel to the desert sojourn of the Hebrews". The number 'forty' appears to have had a symbolic-mystical significance in the religion of the sect. C.Spicq, "L'Epître aux Hébreux et Qumran", RDQ 1, (1958), p.371f., draws our attention to the occurrence of 'Aleph', 'Mem' and 'Nun' in IQS X:1-4 and suggests that 'Mem', which is called the 'Holy of Holies' in line 4, represents the community. (community = Holy of Holies in IQS VIII:4). Hence, 'Mem' = Forty = community. Cf. D.Barthélemy, "Notes en marge sur les Manuscrits de Qumran", RB 59, (1952), pp.199-200; J.L.Teicher, "L'Origine et la Signification des nombres symboliques dans CD", JJS 4, (1953), pp.53-58; E.Ettisch, "Eschatologisch-astrologische Vorstellungen in der Gemeinderegel", (X:1-8)", RDQ 2, (1959), pp.3-19, (cf. pp.3-5).
 - 3: IQS IX:9-11.

A detailed discussion of the implications contained in the reference to the "anointed of Aaron and Israel" lies beyond the scope of this study¹. Of particular interest, however, is the reference to the coming of a prophet, which is uttered on the basis of the prophesied "prophet like Moses" of Deut.18:15f. Although the testimony of extra-biblical sources is not always consistent, one fact these texts make abundantly clear is that the expectation of a "prophet like Moses" in the New Testament period was a lively one indeed². ~~However,~~ ^{however,} that this figure, was generally and popularly

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- 1: For more detailed discussions of the twin messiah expectation, cf., M.Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls, London, 1958, pp. 297-311; F.Bruce, op.cit., pp.41-55; H.W.Kuhn, "Die beiden Messiasse in den Qumrantexten und die Messiasvorstellung in der rabbinischen Literatur", ZAW 70, (1958), pp.200-208; G.Friedrich, "Beobachtungen zur messianischen Hohepriestererwartung in den Synoptikern", ZTK 53, (1956), pp.265-311; K.G.Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels", NTS 1, (1954/55), pp.168-179; M.Smith, "What is implied by the variety of Messianic Figures?", JBL 78, (1959), pp.66-72; R.E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran", CBQ 19, (1957), p.53f; W.H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", NTS 3, (1956), pp.12-30; M.Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man", SJT 6, (1953), pp.1-11 (cf. p.6ff.).
 - 2: A foreshadowing of this is evident in Deut.Isaiah's description of the Servant of Yahweh. It is the "prophet like Moses" who is the prototype for Isaiah's description. Cf. A.Bentzen, Messias - Moses Redivivus - Menschensohn, Zürich, 1948, p.64: "Hier wird der Ebed Jahweh in der Rolle des neuen Mose oder Josua geschildert, als Leiter des neuen Exodus". Cf. A.Bentzen, King and Messiah, London, 1955, p.70. A similar correspondance exists between the description of Esdras in IV Esdras 1:14, whose physical features and activities are remarkably similar to those attributed to Moses. Cf. G.Vermes, "Moïse", CS, (1955), p.84. J.Jeremias, "Haupten", TWNT Vol.IV, p. 854: "wie für das spätere Judentum die Thora die eine ewige Hauptoffenbarung Gottes ist...so ist Mose für das Spätjudentum die wichtigste Gestalt der ganzen bisherigen Heilgeschichte". Cf. J.Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Juden-Christentums, Tübingen, 1949, p. 89. Cf. M.Black, Op.cit., SJT 6, (1953), p.2f;

conceived as a messianic figure is by no means established¹. The New Testament seems to support the interpretation according to which the "prophet like Moses" is the forerunner of the messiah and not the messiah himself². The evidence presented by the gospel records, however, is not conclusive nor consistent³. In any case, there is every reason to believe that within the Qumran community "the prophet like Moses" represents a historic figure as distinguished from that of the messiah who is to come at the end of days⁴. Hence, the writer of 1QS

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- 1: An uncertain echo of such a popular expectation occurs in an event recorded by Josephus:

"Now it came to pass, ~~that~~ while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain magician whose name was Theudas, persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them he was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river...".

Cf. Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, Book XX, Chapter v, Par.1; edited by W.Whiston, The Works of Flavius Josephus, London-Edinburgh. It is possible that Theudas and his followers "believed themselves actually to be involved in the messianic release which was momentarily expected by some Jews and eventually expected by most Jews". Cf. F.W.Young, "Jesus the Prophet: A re-examination", JBL 68, (1949), p.296. P.Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Agiba, Tübingen, 1903, p.191f;

- 2: J.Jeremias, TWNT, Vol.IV, p.862 speaks of the prophet as the "Vorläufer des Messias" and rejects a complete identification: "nirgendwo dagegen findet sich in der älteren Lit.die Vorstellung dass der wiederkehrende Moses der Messias sein werde".
- 3: John 7:40 shows that there were two different schools of thought concerning this identification between the prophet and the messiah. Doctrines concerning such identifications appear to have been in a state of constant flux. In John 6:14f it seems to have been complete, while in 1:21,24 and 7:40 the two are to be distinguished. It appears that the equation prophet=messiah, at least in New Testament times, was never fixed or complete.
- 4: A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.83: "Wenn also auch im bestimmten Kreisen des Spätjudentums der Deut.18:15,18 verheissene Prophet als Messias betrachtet wurde, so ist andererseits kaum daran zu zweifeln dass der Prophet innerhalb der Qumransekte nicht als messianischen Gestalt angesehen worden ist". Cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.91. G.Vermes, "Moïse", CS, (1955), p.83.

IX:11 has taken special care to distinguish this "prophet" from the "Anointed of Aaron and Israel", by inserting a copulative waw:

וַיְהִי כִּי יָבֹא הַנָּבִיא וְהַמָּשִׁיחַ יַחְדָּם

It is also noteworthy that this is the only place in the texts where the "prophet" is cited along with the two messianic figures. The explanation for this is to be found in the fact that the "Sitz im Leben" ~~background~~ of 1QS IX:11 is quite different from that of the other texts¹. This becomes evident when we compare this passage with a similar one in CD. The reference to the "first ordinances" in 1QS IX:10 is strikingly similar to that of CD XX:31 :

"Who have let themselves be instructed in the first ordinances by which the men of the Unique (one) were judged, and who have lent their ear to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness"².

In each case there is the distinct demand of adhering to the דְּבָרֵי הַנָּבִיא . The contexts, however, betray a radical change in historical background. In 1QS IX:9-11, the demand is directed to a community which is still looking forward to the Exodus into the desert: "When these things come to pass for the community in Israel" (line 3). In CD XX:32, it is the eschatological community of the desert which is

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- 1: It has been suggested that the entire section 1QS VIII:1-IX:11 belongs to an earlier, pre-Qumran phase of development.
 - 2: cf. Test. Judah 24:3b: "And you shall walk in his laws, the first and the second". cf. Jubilees 1:26; "the first" are the laws of ancient times revealed to the forefathers; "the second" refer to the new laws of the end-time. cf. R.H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees, London, 1917, p.39 (n.4); A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.75 (n.3); Note also the parallel between the וְהַמָּשִׁיחַ and the מָשִׁיחַ הַגָּדוֹל in 1QS IX:9-11. The community is called upon to display undiminishing loyalty to the revealed traditions of the law, accumulated and collected within the community.

addressed: "The House of Peleg...those that went out of the Holy City" (line 22). This change of background confirms the suggestion that 1QS IX belongs to an earlier, pre-Qumran phase of development. It also helps to explain the distinct contrast between these passages. In 1QS, the community is called upon to obey "the first ordinances... until the coming of the prophet". In CD, the community has already dedicated itself to the "first ordinances" and has listened to "the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness". The latter stands in a relationship of fulfillment to the former. While the writer of 1QS was not acquainted with the "teacher" and therefore still looks for the "prophet", the expositor of CD understood his coming to have been fulfilled in the figure of the "Teacher of Righteousness"¹.

1: It is significant that while the "teacher" is found wanting in 1QS, the figure of the "prophet" is likewise absent from CD. It appears then that the arrival of the one was seen as the fulfillment of the other. One further reference to the "prophet" occurs in the form of a quotation. J.M. Allegro has published a "Testimonia", a kind of messianic anthology, referring to the "prophet" and the two messiahs. The allusion to the "prophet" is based on two quotations from Deut., one being the familiar prophecy of the "prophet like Moses". cf. 4QTest, 5-8a; J.M. Allegro, "Further Messianic references in Qumran Literature", JBL 75 (1956), p.186f; Undoubtedly, a passage such as Deut.18:18-19 would provide the needed biblical sanction to the position of authority of the "Teacher" in matters of interpretation. cf. 1QpH II:1-6; It confirms our suggestion that the "prophet" of 1QS IX:9-11, the "Teacher" of CD XX:31, was understood to be the "prophet like Moses" in fulfillment of Deut.18:18-19; cf. G. Vermes, "Moïse", CS (1955), p.84: "Il n'est donc guère douteux que le Docteur de Justice, l'Interprète...n'ait été identifié dans la tradition essénienne avec le "Prophète semblable à Moïse"...". cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.84: "Mithin ist zu schliessen: der erwartete Prophet (1QS IX:11) erschien der Sekte in der Gestalt des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit". cf. M. Black, Op.cit., SJT 6 (1953), p.6f; J.T. Milik, Op.cit., p.116; J. Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.137f; Not so: F.M. Cross, Op.cit., p.168f;

Once the equation "prophet like Moses" (Deut.18:18)="prophet" (1QS IX:11)="Teacher of Righteousness" (CD XX:32) has been confirmed, we are able to define more precisely the theological interpretations surrounding this prophetic figure of the "Teacher".

b) The Leader of the Exodus

The decisive turning point for the community was the arrival of the "Teacher" to give leadership at a time of spiritual crisis and indecision:

"And they understood their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men. But they were like blind men and like men who groping seek their way for twenty years And God considered their works....and He raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them in the way of His heart"¹.

That the "twenty years" represent an actual event in the life of the community is suggested by the context². However, irrespective of its

1: CD I:8-11

2: The emergence of the community as a "root of planting" in line 7 is clearly distinguished from the arrival of the "Teacher" in line 11. Agreement regarding the actuality of this reference is, by no means universal. N.Walker, "Concerning the 390 years and the 20 years of the Damascus Document", JBL 76 (1957), p.57f., suggests a period between 538 B.C.-518 B.C., between the return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the temple. This position is also taken by T.H.Gaster, The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, London, 1957, p.108; cf.also: I.Rabinowitz, "A reconsideration of "Damascus" and "390 years" in the Damascus (Zadokite) Fragments.", JBL 73 (1954), p.11f; It is more likely, however, that it is a schematic figure with no exact chronological implications. cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, *Op.cit.* p.122 (n.1); E.F.Sutcliffe, The Monks of Qumran, London, 1960, p.40f; It is to be understood as an indefinite period of indecision during which the community hoped for a possible return to its rightful place in the temple. This hope turned into exasperation when in 141 B.C., Simon succeeded Jonathan to the high priesthood (1 Macc.14:41); It is possible that shortly after his accession the community broke away completely and settled in the desert of Qumran. cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, London, 1956, p.196f.

chronological implications, it is apparent that the community emerged from the secession as a loosely organized entity: "They were like blind men and like men who gropingly seek their way". This seems to indicate that the community went through a period of crisis, characterized by hesitation and indecision. This crisis came to a sudden end, however, when God sent a "Teacher" to lead them "in the way of His heart" (line 11). It was this "Teacher" who assisted in the crystallization of the community into an exclusive sect, defined its doctrines and directed it towards a new cultic and moral programme. In ancient times, God sent Moses to lead Israel out of bondage in Egypt. So too now, He has sent a "prophet like Moses" to lead the New Exodus into the desert¹.

c) The Interpreter of the Law

i) "The Rod"

"And God remembered the Covenant of the Patriarchs and raised out of Aaron men of understanding..and they dug the well: The well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with a rod.. The Well is the Law...and the rod is the Seeker of the Law; as Isaiah said, He has made a tool for His work. And the nobles of the people are they that come to dig the well with the help of the Lawgiver's ($\rho\rho\rho\eta\delta$) precepts ($\eta\rho\rho\eta\delta$)"2.

It is the word $\rho\rho\rho\eta\delta$ which concerns us in particular. It occurs several times in the Old Testament, where it is to be rendered as "sceptre" or "commander's staff". In some cases it refers to the

1: This link between "The Teacher of Righteousness" and the Exodus event is more implied than directly expressed.

2: CD VI:2-9;

person who carries the sceptre, the "ruler" or "commander"¹. Later traditions, however, have consistently linked this word with the figure of Moses². This Mehoqeq-Moses identification was probably suggested by the root פּוּן , "to engrave" from which it is a derivative. In the Old Testament, it is used for the "engraving" of laws upon tablets of stone³. Hence, the פּוּן is "that which has been engraved" and the פּוּנָב is the "engraver" or "scribe" of the law, such as Moses who "wrote upon the tables, the words of the covenant"⁴. For this reason, Palestinian tradition, almost invariably, interpreted the word as

1: "Sceptre": Gen.49:10; Nu.21:18; Ps.60:7; Ps.108:8;

"Commander": Deut.33:21; Judg.5:14;

The latter can apply to God (Is.33:22) or to man (Judg.5:14); The LXX interprets it to refer to a person who carries authority in a secular capacity: "prince"; "ruler"; "king"; ($\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$ βασιλεὺς/ηγούμενος); cf. W.Gesenius, Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, Leipzig, 1878, p.294; G.Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, p.50; In the Old Testament, however, the פּוּנָב remains essentially a religious ruler under God: "He executed the commands and just decrees for the Lord"; cf. Deut.33:21;

2: It is significant that the פּוּנָב of Nu.21:18, the passage cited by the expositor of CD VI:2-11, is interpreted by 1 Targum Jerusalem to apply to Moses; This is also the case in 2 Targum Jerusalem on Deut.33:21 and Sifre Deut.Par.355. This identification appears to have remained a common one in later rabbinic tradition: Rashi's commentary on Deut.33:21 associates the reference to the "portion of the Mehoqeq" with the "grave of the Mehoqeq". That he is, in fact, referring to Moses is clear from his commentary on Nu.21:18 in which he again quotes Deut.33:21 and then refers to Moses by name:

"And from the wilderness it was given them as a gift through the lawgiver, by command of Moses who is called the Mehoqeq ($\chi\tau\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\omega\delta\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{פּוּנָב}$ פּוּנָב) as it is said: 'For there is the portion of the Mehoqeq' (Deut.33:21)

cf. M.Rosenbaum-A.M.Silbermann, Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haghtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary, London, 1929, Vol.I, p.175,245; It is also interesting to note that Justin Martyr interpreted the "Mehoqeq" as applying to Christ: cf. Ap.I:32 and Dial.54; cf.G.T.Purves, The Testimony of Justin Martyr to early Christianity, New York, 1889, p.95 (n.1);

3: Is.30:8; Ez.4:1;

4: Ex.34:28;



"scribe" and applied it to Moses, "the great scribe of Israel"¹. G. Vermes has rightly pointed out that the word "scribe" does not mean "copyist" in a simple and technical sense, but rather, "teacher" or "scholar" of the law². In addition, he is the spiritual "leader" who has a vital redemptive function³. This is evident from a rabbinic comment on Deut. 33:21, one of the Mehoqeq passages:

"Moses was virtuous and he led the many to virtue; the virtue of many depended on him, as it is written: 'He executed the justice of the Lord and his judgments with Israel'"⁴.

The complex exegetical problems of CD VI:2-11 are now closer to their solution. The evidence, which may be gathered from the context, appears to point at only one solution. The expositor of CD VI:2-11 was indeed familiar with the Moses-Mehoqeq identification and intended it

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- 1: Targum Onkelos on Deut. 33:21 : "The great scribe of Israel" (גבירי דא דאבא); cf. A. Berliner, Targum Onkelos, Vol. I, Berlin, 1884;
 - 2 Targum Jerusalem on Deut. 33:21 : "Moses, the prophet, the scribe of Israel"
 - 1 Targum Jerusalem on Genesis 49:10 : "Moses and Aaron, the scribes of Israel"
 - 1 Targum Jerusalem on Psalm 60:9 : "From the house of Judah are the scribes of my house of teaching".
The complete quotations may be found in G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, p. 50f;
 - 2: G. Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, p. 52; In 2 Targum Jerusalem on Genesis 49:10, the "scribes" are called "the teachers of the Torah"; In 1 Targum Jerusalem on Psalm 60:9, the "scribes" are linked to the "house of teaching"; Again, Targum Onkelos on Genesis 49:10 has applied the term "Mehoqeq" to the ד'ת'ב'ס'נ'ן, the "scholars of the law".
 - 3: In Sifre Isaiah 33:22, there is a close link between God, the teacher of doctrine, and God, the king-redeemer. The functions of the רב'נ'ן are not limited to the realm of secular or political power, nor are they confined to a simple and formal inculcation of law, but are extended to include the whole sphere of redemption.
 - 4: Aboth 5:18; cf. H. Danby, The Mishnah, Oxford, 1933, p. 458;

to be understood in this way by his readers¹. He has deliberately

1: The following considerations point in this direction:

a) The community has come "to dig the well with the help of the Lawgiver's precepts" (line 10); A more accurate translation is: "Those who come to dig the well according to the commandments (סִפְּרִיָּא) which the lawgiver (רִבִּינָא) commanded (רִפִּי)"; This has come clearly near the mediating functions attributed to the "Mehoqeq" in Deut.33:21, which the various targums have applied to the figure of Moses: "Who executed commands and just decrees for the Lord".

b) In line 7, the expositor uses a curious quotation from Is.54:16. "The rod is the seeker of the law; as Isaiah said, 'He has made a tool for his work'"; The word כֵּס, "tool" or "vessel" is often used to refer to the Torah: "The words of the Torah are like golden vessels". Ab.R.N.XXXI, 34b; cf. Sifre Deut. 'Ekeb.par.48,f.83b; in C.G.Montefiore-H.Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, London, 1938, p.141; Quite frequently too, the word כֵּס, as well as its equivalent, קִיפָא is a figurative designation for Moses: He is the "vessel", the intermediary of divine revelation. cf. Qoh.R.VII:28; Acts 9:15; cf. N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 4; (1953), p.161f;

c) It is highly probable that the expositor of CD, while he does not quote the entire verse of Isaiah 54, was nevertheless profoundly affected by its contents when he spoke of the "Mehoqeq" in CD VI:7; Interesting parallels are suggested by N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 4, (1953), p.162; The remainder of the verse in Isaiah states: "Behold, I have created the craftsman (שֹׁרֵט) who blows the fire of coals".

i) To blow is used in the sense of to "speak" in Prov.6:19; 14:25 and is actually rendered נִפֵּחַ by the targums.

ii) Fire is a common symbol for the law: "As fire does not burn when isolated, so will the words of the law not be preserved when studied by oneself"; (Ta'an 7a; cf. Montefiore-Loewe, Op.cit., p.107;); "The words of the Torah are compared to fire, for both were given from heaven" (Sifre Deut. Berakah, par.343. cf.Montefiore-Loewe, Op.cit., p.165;)

iii) "Coals" is used symbolically for the utterances of great teachers (e.g. Aboth II:10)

"to blow coals of fire" signifies then the utterance of the teachings of the Torah in the manner of the great teachers of the rabbinic world. The words of outstanding teachers of the law (fire) issued (blow) from their mouths: "Then the prophet Elijah arose like a fire and his word became like a torch" (Sirach 48:1; cf.2 Esdras 13; 10); The expression "his word became like a torch" is reminiscent of a rabbinic tradition which believed that the Law had been given to Moses at the age of four months and that it was given to him, "from the flaming torch"; cf.L.Ginzberg, Legends, Vol.II, p.270; Moses himself was often compared to a "burning candle" (Vol.III; p.251;) and it is said that "flames of fire" emitted from his mouth; (Vol.II, p.332; Vol.III, p.467; 470;).

chosen the word "Mehoqeq" and supported it with a quotation from Isaiah, since both were generally identified with the figure of Moses as the unique and authoritative mediator of God's law. In this way, he reconfirmed the convictions of his readers that the "prophet like Moses", the New Moses of the New Covenant, had indeed come to their retreat in the desert.

We have here again a characteristic example of typological exegesis. Just as God had once sent a law-giver to the desert tribes of ancient Israel, so now, the beginning of the community's history (CD VI:2) and its Exodus into the desert (line 5), had come into effect through the arrival of the "Mehoqeq", the mediator of God's law for the people of the New Covenant.

The Moses-Mehoqeq-New Moses identification, immediately calls to mind the "Teacher of Righteousness", the "prophet like Moses" of Deut.18:18 and 1QS IX:9-11¹. That the expositor intended this Mosaic "seeker of the law" to be understood as the "Teacher", is evident from the parallels which exist between CD I:7f. and CD VI:2f. In both, the beginning of the covenant is brought about through the elective activity of God. In both passages also, this beginning is associated with a

1: It is evident from the context that the "Mehoqeq" represents a historic figure who was active in the time of the community. The expositor has taken care to distinguish the "Mehoqeq" who came to "Damascus" (lines 4,6) from "he who teaches righteousness in the end of days". While the context must determine the meaning of מוֹשֶׁה הַיְיָ here it clearly refers to the fulfillment of history. cf. 1QpH IX:6; CD IV:4; 4QFl I:2,12,15,19; 4QpIs^a, 4QpIs^b, II:1; cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.70: "Der Toraforscher von VI:7 ist ja eine historische Gestalt, die schon dagewesen ist". cf. N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 4, (1953), p.158: "He is a figure living and acting in the present, not the object of future expectations".

historic and authoritative personality. In CD I:11 it is the "Teacher of Righteousness". In CD VI:7 it is the "Mehoqeq", the Mosaic "Interpreter of the Law".

ii) The Mediator of Mysteries

Only the Mehoqeq-Moses-Teacher identification can explain why the latter occupied such an exalted position in the life of the covenant community and why he has held the high esteem of his community members¹.

According to Palestinian traditions, God's revelation of Himself had been given to the nation of Israel, but only in part:

"When God revealed His presence to the Israelites He did not show forth His goodness at once..So He shows Himself little by little"².

Not only Himself, but the mysteries concerning His purpose in history, as well, have remained hidden from man. Sometimes, individuals are set apart for special consideration and privileges. The Palestinian Targum ascribes such a privilege to Balaam. But even he was not permitted to receive the divine revelation concerning the mysteries of the end-time³. Again, Jonathan Ben Uzziel was prevented by a celestial voice from writing a targum for the "time of the messiah" (ת'ועתא יפ) was revealed in the text he was about to explain⁴. A comparable view

1: cf. CD VI:10; 1QpH II:2-4; To be unfaithful to the Teacher is to reject God and break the covenant pledge.

2: Tanh.B., cf. Debarim Ia; Ex.R.VI:1-4; Montefiore-Loewe, Op.cit., p.130;

3: Targum Jerusalem on Nu.24:3; cf. G.Vermes, "Moïse", CS (1955) p.83(p.151);

4: Meg.3a;

is presented in the Qumran texts:

"And God told Habakkuk to write down the things which will come to pass in the last generation, but the consummation of time He made not known to him"¹.

The figure of Moses, however, stands out above all others as a notable exception. He is the greatest of all prophets² and to him God revealed the whole Torah, "even the doctrines that an able scholar would some day propound were revealed to him"³. Moreover, God has made known to Moses the mysteries concerning the consummation of time:

"And I told him many wondrous things and showed him the secrets of the times and declared to Him the end of time"⁴."

God has revealed to Moses the destiny of Israel and the day of judgment:

"God revealed to him not only the complete history of Israel...but also He revealed to Him all that had occurred and that was to occur, from its creation to the Day of Judgment"⁵.

The entire future of the nation has been opened up before Moses:

"He let him look into the future and let him see every generation and its sages and its prophets"⁶.

1: 1QpH VII:1-2;

2: For talmudic references cf. L. Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. VII, p. 324;

3: Yerusalmi Peah II:17a; Qoheleth I:10; V:8 (cf. A. Wünsche, Der Midrash Kohelet, Leipzig, 1880); cf. L. Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. VII, p. 324;

Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar, Vol. III, p. 513ff; Vol. IV, p. 435; 439f;
4: 2 Esdras XIV:3-6; cf. Jubilees I:26; XXII:32; Baruch IV:5; IXL:4-11; Sanhedrin 38b; Abodah Zarah 5a; Tan. B. I:21, 22; Sifre Deut. 357; Sifre Nu. 135-136; Midrash Tannaim 19, 206, 207; T. Yerusalmi on Deut. 34:1-4 and Ps. Philo 19:10-13; cf. L. Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. III: p. 154; 401-403;

5: Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. III, p. 443, 398;

6: Ibid, Vol. III, p. 136;

The people of the Qumran community believed that their "Teacher of Righteousness", the "prophet like Moses", had been granted privileges similar to those given to Moses. He too, had been given knowledge concerning the day of judgment in the consummation of time

"And He raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them in the way of His heart and to make known to the last generations what He (would do) to the last generation, the congregation of traitors¹."

God has revealed to the Teacher the mysteries concerning the destiny of His elect:

"When they hear all the things which will befall the last generation from the mouth of the Priest whom God placed in (the House of Jud)ah (sic) to explain all the words of His servants the Prophets, by (whose hand) God has told all that will befall His people and (the nations)"²

The concrete point of anchorage of these mysteries are the words of the prophets:

"This concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the Mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets"³.

The Moses-Teacher of Righteousness identification appears to be complete. Like Moses of old, the Teacher is to be the "Mehoqueq", the supreme "interpreter of the law", whose function it is to be the authoritative exponent of that law and the mediator of God's will and purpose for history⁴.

1: CD I:11-12;

2: 1QpH II:7-10;

3: 1QpH VII:4-5;

4: cf. G.Vermes, "Moïse", CS (1955), p.83;

6. Summary

Our discussion, thus far, has shown that the community of Qumran viewed history in a typological fashion. Its own life in the desert of Qumran was understood as a clear reiteration of the life of the ancient Israelite community in the desert of Sinai.

Taking its authority from the Old Testament, the community predicted a period of forty years for its sojourn, interpreted its secession from Jerusalem as a second exodus, and organized itself into tribes. This typological structure was brought to its completion with the arrival of the long awaited "prophet like Moses", the "Mehoqeq", who had come in the person of the "Teacher of Righteousness". In ancient times, Yahweh delivered His chosen people from the yoke of Egyptian bondage, gave them a mediator who led the Exodus into the desert, and through this mediator, established a covenant bond with them. Now, in recent times, He has again given them a "Moses", to lead the Exodus and to be the mediator of a New Covenant in the desert-exile of Qumran.

In this way, the Qumran community sought to imitate the desert life of ancient Israel under Moses¹.

1: Most scholars are agreed that there is in these texts, what may be described as, a thoroughgoing "Desert Orthodoxy". cf. U.W.Mauser, Christ in the Wilderness, London, 1963, pp.15-53; pp.58-62; T.F. Glasson, Moses in the 4th Gospel, London, 1963, pp.15-20; R.Mayer-J.Reuss, Die Qumranfunde und die Bibel, Regensburg, 1959, pp.45-48; F.M.Cross, *Op.cit.*, p.56; J.T.Milik, *Op.cit.*, p.115; J.Maier, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.31 (n.13); A.S.v.d.Woude, *Op.cit.*, p.48f; A notable exception is J.Coppens, "Les affinités Qumraniennes de l'Épître aux Hébreux", NRT 84 (1962), pp.257-282; (cf.p.259, n.9); We shall see, however, that such a "Desert Orthodoxy", while based on a covenant idealism, does not necessarily involve a "Mosaic Idealism", as has been supposed.

CHAPTER IV

THE COVENANT OF RETURN

1. Introduction

We have seen that there were profound doctrinal divergencies between the community of Qumran and its contemporaries in Jerusalem. The main issues of this disagreement were found to center around the question of the law and its interpretation. According to the community, what was basically at stake, however, was the whole covenant relationship between God and Israel. The fundamental issues are covenantal ones.

We have seen also that there is a highly developed desert typology in these texts. The Qumran community identified itself with the conditions of the ancient covenant community under Moses.

We shall see that this identification with the desert community of Israel did not rest entirely on an accidental similarity of the physical circumstances between the old community and that of Qumran. Indeed, the typology of the desert appears to have been developed so systematically and to such a degree of completeness, that it seems valid to conclude that it arose out of the theological perspectives of the community itself and, indeed, found its inspiration in a typological understanding of covenant: i.e., the ancient covenant is again expressed in the new. Behind the idealism of the desert, there lies a profound idealism of the covenant. In the past, Yahweh revealed His elective love to Israel through the redemptive events of the Exodus

event and through His unfailing concern during the desert sojourn under Moses. Israel, on the other hand, demonstrated her response to this election in a formal declaration of allegiance. Yahweh's election of Israel and Israel's response in allegiance sealed the covenant bond. This same covenantal understanding, the relationship of election and response, we shall see, lies at the heart of the ¹ Qumran desert orthodoxy.

By means of a brief excursion into the theme of the desert in the theology of Hosea, we shall attempt to discover the implications of this covenant idealism lying behind the desert orthodoxy of the community and we shall see how, in this way, it succeeded in solving the dilemma of the covenant by which it was confronted.

2. The Desert-Covenant in Hosea

a) Election and Response

During the first siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, under king Jehoiakim, the prophet Jeremiah selected a peculiar company, "the

1: The plausibility of this interpretation can be illustrated with reference to B.Child's view of the biblical concept of memory as "an actualization of a past event": "To remember was to actualize the past, to bridge the gap of time and to form a solidarity with the fathers"; "When later Israel responded to the continuing imperative of her tradition through her memory, that moment in historical time likewise became an Exodus experience. Not in the sense that later Israel again crossed the Red Sea....Rather, Israel entered the same redemptive quality of the Exodus generation. Later Israel, removed in time and space, found in her tradition a means of transforming her history into redemptive history. Because the quality of time was the same, the barrier of chronological separation was overcome". cf. B.Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, London, 1962, pp.75,74,85;

House of the Rechabites", and held them up before his audience as an illustrative example of fidelity, in order to call his faithless and wavering people back to obedience¹.

The founder of this curious community was Jonadab ben Rechab (Jer.35:6) who is first mentioned in 2 Kings 10:15 as a contemporary of Elijah and associate of Jehu. 1 Chronicles 2:55 establishes a link between the Rechabites and the Kenites who, according to 1 Sam. 15:6, led a nomadic life in the extreme south of the West Jordan land. The Kenites were descendants of Moses' father-in-law and thus had a claim to be heard as the descendants of him who led Israel to Yahweh². The Rechabites perpetuated their ancestor's devotion to the tradition of the wilderness and stood for absolute purity of the Mosaic tradition³. By refusing to drink wine and by opposing agriculture, as well as civil culture, they attempted to counteract the syncretistic movements on foot within Israel and to guard it against the influx of foreign encroachment.

The Rechabite sect presents the historic starting-point of a consistent theme of "Nomadic Idealism" which underlies the various

1: Jer.35:2-12;

2: The Kenite theory of the origin of Israel's faith is usually associated with the name of K.Budde, The Religion of Israel to the Exile, New York, 1899, Ch.I; A more recent propounder of this theory is H.H.Rowley, The Rediscovery of the Old Testament, Westminster, 1946, Ch.V;

3: K.Budde, "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament", The New World, Vol.IV, 1895, p.726, suggests that the Mosaic idealism of this sect must be understood in the light of their link with the Kenites who supported Moses during the wilderness period.

traditions of the Old Testament¹. They represented a minority group of extremists. The interval between their two appearances in the Old Testament suggests, however, that Israel was continually being reminded of her desert ancestry. The very fact of their association with the message of Jeremiah indicates that the desert setting of Israel's original and authentic faith played a vital role in the teaching of her religious leaders. "Jeremiah's recognition of them shows that the prophets understood the tendency here at work, and respected the loyalty that went to its realization, even when they could not take part in the movement as a whole²".

The theme of the desert occupies a place of supreme priority in the message of Hosea³. By means of this theme, the prophet conveys a clear and unqualified teaching of the love of God⁴. Foremost in his

1: It appears superfluous, for our present purpose, to discuss in detail these desert traditions in the Old Testament. Extensive details have been discussed by: U.W.Mausser, *Op.cit.*, pp.15-53; R.Bach, *Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste*, Dissertation, Bonn, 1952; (Available on microfilm in Edinburgh University Library); Reviewed in TLZ 78 (1953), col.787; S.Nystrom, *Beduinismus und Jahwismus*, Lund, 1946; W.F.Albright, "A Documentary History of Primitivism", in A.O.Lovejoy-G.Boas, *Primitivism and related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1935, pp.421-432; J.W. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament", JBL 42, (1923), pp.158-226; A.Causse, "La Législation sociale d'Israël et l'Idéal patriarcal", RTP (1919), p.237ff;

2: W.Eichrodt, *Op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.355;

3: For a detailed discussion of the desert orthodoxy in the theology of Hosea, cf. P.Humbert, "La Logique de la perspective nomade chez Osée" et l'unité d'Osée 2:4-22", FS K.Marti, p.160f; P.Humbert, "Osée, le prophète bedouin", RHPR I (1921), p.109f;

4: W.Eichrodt, "The Holy One in your midst", Int.15 (1961), p.263: "For the first time in the History of Israel, the message of the love of God is heard in Hosea's proclamation as the center of God's action with His people".

thought is the act of redemption which took place in the early desert setting of Israel's history:

"Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel"¹
"It was I who knew you in the wilderness"².

For Hosea, the desert embodies and signifies the elective and redemptive initiative of a loving God:

"When Israel was a child, I loved him
and out of Egypt I called my son"³.

The verb used here for "love" is *אָהַב*. It is the operative verb of divine election and is generally rendered, "to set love upon", or, "to begin to love", the emphasis being on the divine initiative⁴. It signifies the unconditional quality of love which is bestowed, not because there is something specifically noble and lovable in the object, but simply because God chooses to love. Eichrodt calls it "an irrational power of love"⁵.

The desert, and the message of love which it embodies, becomes the basis for Hosea's proclamation of a new covenant⁶. Israel has broken the old covenant and transgressed its law (8:1; 6:7)⁷. What makes the situation even more serious is the context in which Israel's

1: Hos.9:10a;

2: Hos.13:5;

3: Hos.11:1; cf. D.Ritschl, "God's Conversion-An exposition of Hos.11", Int.15 (1961), p.286ff;

4: D.Ritschl, Ibid, p.295: "His love was not 'automatic', but he 'grew' into his love, or 'fell' in love: he elected in love".

5: W.Eichrodt, Op.cit., Int.15 (1961), p.259;

6: This re-interpretation of the present in terms of the past is not peculiar to Hosea. cf. G.Fohrer, "Die Struktur der alttestamentlichen Eschatologie", TLZ 86 (1960), cols.401-420; (cf.col.411);

7: They no longer "know" Yahweh (2:18; 5:4; 11:3); "Forget Him", (2:13; 4:6; 8:14; 13:6;) "forsake Him", (4:10); "rebel", (7:13; 8:1); and remain "stubborn", (4:16; 9:15);

infidelity is found: her apostasy is shameful in the face of her election in the desert (9:10), and against the background of the love of God which it embodies (9:15). "The guilt of the present is exposed in the light of its beginnings as guilt against the God of love and election, the Lord of salvation history"¹.

In the light of Israel's disobedience, God's judgment must inevitably follow. It will come upon them in catastrophes², in military defeat³ and, above all, through God Himself⁴. Hence, there is a crisis of covenant, similar to the one which would later confront the Qumran community. But Hosea is convinced that the God who judges is not removed in icy splendour: He is intimately concerned for and involved in the people of His election. God waits for repentance⁵. But Israel is unwilling to repent⁶. She is not only unwilling, she knows that repentance has no real future for her. Her only chance is to return to the beginning and that means a return to the conditions of the desert. This new beginning could not be achieved through a simple reaffirmation of allegiance to the conditions of the covenant, but only through a renewed divine initiative. This idea the prophet conveys through the analogy of his own marital experience. Just as

1: cf. H. W. Wolff, "Guilt and Salvation", Int. 15 (1961), p. 281f; cf. Amos 3:10;

2: Hos. 4:3; 5:7; 2:9;

3: Hos. 1:5; 7:16; 8:3; 10:14;

4: Hos. 5:2; 7:12; 12:9, 14; 13:7;

5: Hos. 5:15;

6: Hos. 6:4; 7:7, 10, 16, 18;

God had commanded him to remarry his divorced wife, so God brings His people back into the sphere of His covenant, as it used to be in the beginning of their history in the desert:

"Therefore, behold, I will allure her and bring her into the wilderness, and speak tenderly to her and there will I give her her vineyards and make the Valley of Achor a door of hope. And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth, as at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt"¹.

The desert is the symbol of a new beginning. It is a beginning in which Yahweh's elective love takes the initiative once again and makes Israel a worthy partner of the covenant. This re-creation of the covenant through the initiative of a loving God has a compelling effect. The prophet isolates his newly won wife and removes her from temptation into the desert so that she will be compelled to respond to the irrational bestowal of her husband's love (3:3). In the same way, Israel will be led back to the pure surroundings of the desert where temptation will no longer allure her (3:4; 2:14f). Here, a new sensitivity to responsibility will inspire her allegiance: "And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth" (2:15).

The verb used to describe this new allegiance in the desert is נָתַן (2:20). "It is a knowledge of the heart and demands man's love (Dt.6), its vital demand is walking humbly in the ways of the Lord (Mic.6:9); it is the recognition of God as God, total surrender to God as the Lord"². It is significant that the expression נָתַן is

1: Hos.2:14-16;

2: Th.C.Vriezen, Op.cit., p.128;

frequently used in conjunction with $\tau\delta\eta$, a word with a strong covenantal tone, expressing the idea of covenant faithfulness, covenant responsibility¹. In Hos.4:1, the absence of "pure religion" ($\eta\pi\tau\chi$)² is associated with the absence of "knowledge of God", ($\delta\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\ \sigma\gamma\tau$). The relationship of the desert and Israel's covenant faithfulness is particularly evident in Jer.2:2 :

"I remembered the devotion ($\tau\delta\eta$) of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness".

"Knowledge of God" expresses thus the response of man to the irrational bestowal of love, a response which manifests itself in covenant faithfulness and obedience³. The covenant hinges on the reciprocal action of the covenant partners. Just as God has "known" Israel in the desert, so now, Israel shall "know" God⁴.

b) The Sinai Covenant

A plausible solution as to the origin of Hosea's desert theme lies in the suggestion that the prophet himself was connected ^{with} to a

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- 1: Hos.2:19f; 4:1; 6:6; Note the use of $\tau\delta\eta$ in Hos.6:4. This term will be studied in more detail in connection with the $\tau\delta\eta\ \delta\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha$ of IQS I:8;
 - 2: The term $\eta\pi\tau\chi$ literally means "righteousness". In the context of Hosea's polemics against the false uses of cultic sacrifice, "pure religion" is to be preferred.
 - 3: G.J. Botterweck, Gott erkennen im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments. BBB, Bonn, 1951, p.47: "Alle sittliche Betätigung ($\tau\delta\eta$ und $\eta\pi\tau\chi$) "wurzelt" in der Gotteserkenntnis, d.h. im rechten Verhalten des Menschen zu Gott". cf. H.W. Wolff, "Wissen um Gott, bei Hosea als Ufform der Theologie", *EvT* (1952/53), p.533-554; R. Kraetschmar, "Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung", Marburg, 1896, p.111: "Die Pflichten Israels sind in erster Linie, die Gotteserkenntnis zu pflegen".
 - 4: S. Mowinkel, "La Connaissance de Dieu chez les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament", *RHPR* 22 (1942), p.72: "Connaître, reconnaître Dieu, c'estun rapport de communion réciproque" - "Pas d'alliance possible sans connaissance réciproque".

Levitical-amphictyonic circle of prophets who were excluded from and antagonistic toward the official worship of the cult¹. It is highly possible that this Levitical-prophetic coalition was mainly responsible for the transmission of the text².

In Hos.12:13, Hosea speaks of Moses, the prophet "who brought Israel up from Egypt". In the same verse, mention is made of the prophet who preserved Israel, undoubtedly a reference to Hosea himself or to a contemporary. Moses is thus regarded as the prototype or head of the prophetic-levitical coalition. Hosea sees himself in a lineage of a circle of prophets which originated in Moses and which in the Northern Kingdom was mainly responsible for the preservation of Israel's covenant faithfulness. Just as Moses once led Israel into the desert and confirmed her allegiance before Yahweh in a solemn covenant, so now Hosea leads Israel in her spiritual return to the desert to reaffirm her "pure religion" and covenant faithfulness.

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- 1: cf. H.W.Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat," TLZ 81 (1956), cols. 83-94; H.J.Kraus, "Die Prophetische Verkündigung des Rechts in Israel", Th.St.51 (1957), p.30f;
 - 2: Several passages seem to suggest that Hosea was, indeed, associated with such a circle of amphictyonically orientated prophets. cf. 7:7-9; 6:5; 12:10; The distinction which is drawn in 6:4-6 between true covenant fidelity (תִּבְּרָה), pure religion (יִרְאָה) and sacrifice, may be a direct indication of the rivalry which existed between prophet and priest. Again, it is possible that the accusation of covenant and law transgression in 8:1 is uttered in the light of Deut.33:9, where it is directed against the Levites: "For they observed Thy word and kept Thy covenant. They shall teach Jacob Thy ordinances and Israel Thy law". In Hos.8:2, the prophet's accusation is, in fact, that the priests have failed to do this. They have transgressed the covenant and the law by neglecting their true responsibility as priests. The background of this prophet-priest rivalry explains why the cult became the main target of Hosea's polemic. cf. Hos.4:4-9; 6:1-6; 9:1; 10:1-8; 13:1-3; 12:8-11;

We may conclude that Hosea's theme of the desert finds the mainspring of its inspiration in the Exodus and Sinai traditions and that his whole proclamation is grounded in these events. Only this solution gives a satisfactory explanation of the persistent and recurring theme of the desert in the writings of the prophet¹.

The Sinai background of Hosea's desert theme throws also a meaningful light upon the prophet's frequent entreaty for Israel to "return" (שׁוּב)². In Hos.11:1-11, the prophet tells how Israel was led from Egypt (vs.1), disobeyed Yahweh (vs.2) and would be led back into the desert to return to Egypt, "because they have refused to return" (vs.5)³. But there, the transformation will take place for "they shall come eagerly like birds from Egypt" (vs.11) and once again seek communion with Yahweh (vs.10). The verb שׁוּב is thus understood as a "return" to an original situation of covenant loyalty⁴. The same idea is expressed in the analogy of the prophet's marriage. Just as the prophet's divorced wife returns (שׁוּב) to her first husband, so too, "the children of Israel shall return and seek the Lord their God" (3:5). Hence, Israel's return to Yahweh will take place in the desert

1: Hos.2:15; 11:1; 12:3; 13:4; cf. J.Guillet, Thèmes Bibliques, Paris,

2: Hos 6:1; 14:1-2; cf. 5:4; 7:10; (1954, pp.9-25;

3: cf. Hos.8:13; 9:3;

4: Note relation of "knowledge" and "return" in Hos.5:4; H.W.Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie", ZTK 48, (1951), p.137: "Das Thema 'Umkehr' meint ursprünglich die 'Rückkehr' Israels zu dem Anfang, den Jahwe mit seinem Volke als ganzen gemacht hat". H.Gressmann, Der Messias, Göttingen, 1929, p.182: "Die Rückkehr in die Wüste bedeutet für Hosea die Rückkehr zu Jahwe; denn die mosaische Zeit war die Zeit der Jugendliebe". cf. W.L.Holladay, The Root SUBH in the Old Testament, Leiden, 1958, pp.149-157;

to which Yahweh leads His people (2:14; 11:5). Her newly affirmed allegiance in the desert is, in fact, a "covenant of return", a return to that quality of faithfulness which had once been so characteristic of the Sinai covenant community.

At this point, it is well to note that the dominating motive, which inspired Hosea's desert theme, is radically different from that of the Rechabites. The latter based their idealism on the assumption that Yahweh, the God of the desert, could not be obeyed in any other mode of life than the nomadic. They were true ascetics with ultra-conservative tendencies. In Hosea, on the other hand, the theme of the desert is "un véritable idéal religieux"¹, and is inseparably bound up with the prophet's covenant idealism. His condemnation of civil and agricultural systems does not stem from ascetic tendencies, but is inspired by a profound concern for the covenant (8:1). Through the disobedience of the nation and the inevitable judgment which must follow, the covenant between Yahweh and Israel was in peril². The solution to this crisis Hosea finds in a return to the desert. There Yahweh's elective work will safeguard the continuity of Israel's history of salvation. There also, the nation will be disciplined in order that a new covenant people ~~might~~^{may} grow into a more sensitive awareness of its responsibility to the covenant³.

1: A.Causse, Op.cit., RTP (1919), p.238;

2: A Causse, Du Groupe ethnique et la Communauté religieuse, Paris, 1937, p.101, calls this "Une crise du nationalisme religieux".

3: H.Gressmann, Op.cit., p.192: "Als Resultat ergibt sich, dass die Mosezeit für die Propheten die Idealzeit Israels war...dabei legten sie den Hauptnachdruck auf die sittlich-religiösen Güter, die dem Volk...verloren gegangen waren und die es wiederzugewinnen galt"; cf.B.Vawter, The Conscience of Israel, London-New York, 1961, p.121-126;

3. The Desert-Covenant in the Qumran Texts

a) Hosea and Qumran

The preceding discussion of Hosea's desert theme, and the covenant idealism it embodies, is directly relevant to our present study. There is reason to believe that the Qumran community identified itself with Hosea's prophecy and understood it to be applicable to its own situation.

Several of Hosea's references to Israel's covenant disloyalty were understood by the community to be direct allusions to its own contemporary opponents. Hosea uses the analogy of his unfaithful wife to describe Israel's disloyalty (Hos.2:8). The expositor of 4QpHos^b, II:1-4a uses the same description to apply to the opponents, "who forgot God...who despised His precepts". In Hos.5:10, the people of Israel are called "Removers of the Boundary", an expression which is again used to refer to the opponents of the community, the transgressors of the covenant¹. Again, in CD XX:16-17a, the writer makes use of Hos.3:4 and applies it to his opponents as a threat of impending judgment². Hence, the Qumran community understood Hosea's prophecy, and the life-situation to which it was addressed, to be directly applicable to its own time and situation.

The above suggestion gains in appeal when we see that the community also identified its return to the desert with the non-literal prophecy of Hos.2:14. According to Hos.2:14, "The Valley of Achor"

1: CD V:20; VIII:3; XIX:15f;

2: Compare also Hos.4:16 and CD I:13;

would become the scene of Israel's new covenant, a new beginning and a "door of hope" (vs.15). Quite frequently, mythical-theological themes, such as Hosea's theme of the desert, have been localized by later expositors¹. It is, therefore, not at all surprising to discover that "The Valley of Achor" became the approximate locale for the desert sojourn of the Qumran community², and that even the expression, "a door of hope", was applied to that locale³.

The typological application of Hosea's polemic and desert prophecy to the conditions of the Qumran community, suggests that the latter was not entirely unaware of the situation to which the prophet's message was addressed. On the contrary, it suggests that this situation was understood to be repeating itself and that the community itself was participating in it. The community's attitude toward its opponents, its passion for purity of worship and discipline, and its eventual return to the desert, although arising out of a radically different historical situation, nevertheless reflects a concern and idealism analogous to that of Hosea: an idealism of covenant. The covenant was in peril and the only remaining solution to the dilemma

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- 1: Thus the non-literal reference to the "Midbar" and "Arabah", in Is.35:1, has been interpreted by the Septuagint to apply to the "wilderness of Jordan" (τὰ ἔρημα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου); cf. A.Haldar, The Notion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic Religions, Uppsala, 1950, p.68;
 - 2: A Midrash on Ruth 2:14 also localizes Hosea's desert in the "wilderness of Judah"., cf. W.R.Funk, "The Wilderness", JBL 78 (1959), p.208; B.W.Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament, Englewoods Cliffs, N.J., 1957, p.249; Strack-Billerbeck, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.86f;
 - 3: 1QM XI:9;

lay in a deliberate return to the desert¹.

b) The Door of Hope

It has been suggested that Hosea drew his inspiration from the Exodus and Sinai event. Just as the desert had once been the scene of Yahweh's redemption and elective work², so too, "The Valley of Achor" would be "a door of hope", a new beginning³. There, God's elective initiative would restore Israel to the covenant⁴.

The Qumran community, as well, attributed the origin and genesis of the covenant to the elective activity of God⁵. We shall see later, however, that this concept of election bears a marked eschatological tone and, almost invariably, implies election to a determined destiny. This destiny, so they believed, would be fulfilled in the culmination of history. This highly predestinarian view of election has also coloured the use of Hosea's "door of hope" in 1QM XI:9.

"(Thou hast opened) the door of hope to the melting heart. Thou wilt do to them as Thou didst to pharaoh and to the captains of his chariots at the Red Sea"⁶.

Here, "the door of hope", while linked to the Exodus event, does not refer to the desert period of the present, but is used as a figurative

1: The persistent theme of the desert in the Qumran texts has led some scholars to suggest a possible connection with the Rechabites or the Nazirites. cf. P.Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline, Leiden, 1957, p.20; J.T.Milik, *Op.cit.*, p.105f; C.D.Ginsburg, *Op.cit.*, p.76; It is possible that, as champions for the purity of the faith, the community sensed a spiritual kinship with these sects. More cannot be affirmed. It should be stressed that this Qumran orthodoxy stemmed from a covenantal ideal rather than from ascetic interests.

2: Hos.9:10a; 13:5; 11:1;

3: cf. Ps.118:19-20; Is.60:18; etc.;

4: cf. the analogy of Hosea's wife; Hos.I-II;

5: CD I;4; III:13,18; VI:2; 1Q34bis; etc.;

6: cf. 1QM XVIII:7, ("Gates of Salvation");

description of the final deliverance from the powers of evil. It is not without significance that it appears in the context of the community's plan for the eschatological war against the "Sons of Darkness". This war would be waged when the "exiled Sons of Light return from the desert of the peoples"¹; "at the end of forty years" when "God's anger will be kindled against Israel"² and when "on the earth not a (wi)cked man will be found"³. It would coincide with the arrival of the "Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel"⁴, who would lead the redeemed to victory in this final war⁵. Therefore, indeed, the end of the desert period would be "a door of hope", the concrete fulfillment of God's elective work among His people. The culmination of the desert sojourn will see the fulfillment of God's redemptive work and the accomplishment of the highest destiny of the community.

c) The Sinai Covenant under question

For Hosea, the desert signified also a return to that quality of faithfulness which had been characteristic of the Sinai covenant community under Moses. For the Qumran community, on the other hand, the desert sojourn of Israel was characterized by faithlessness and stubbornness, with the result that the covenant itself had been violated:

1: 1QM I:2f;

2: CD XX:15b-16a;

3: 4QpPs37, I:7-8a;

4: CD VII:21

5: 4QpIs^d, 1-5; 1QSa, II:11-22; 1QSb, V:20-29; 4QPB, 1-6; 4QF1, 7b-13;

"And because of this the first to enter the covenant (were rendered guilty) and were delivered up to the sword because they had abandoned the covenant of God"¹.

"their males (were) cut off in the desert.. (they chose the will) of their own spirit and did not heed the voice of their Maker. They did not keep the commandments of their Teacher and murmured in their tents"².

The old covenant community had failed in remaining faithful to the obligations of the covenant. This applied to the ancient community of the desert³, as well as to the contemporaries of the Qumran community⁴.

The community's awareness of the failures of the ancient covenant community, throws an interesting light upon the use of the word $\alpha\beta\gamma$ in the context of the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS:

" And all who decide to enter into the rule of the community shall pass into ($\alpha\beta\gamma$) the covenant in the presence of God"⁵.

D.Barthélemy has pointed out that the use of $\alpha\beta\gamma$ is unusual for all the members of the community actually belong to the Mosaic covenant before entering the sectarian covenant. He concludes that its use here suggests a solemn undertaking of the covenant obligations of the sect by the novice⁶. This interpretation can be expanded by retaining the

1: CD III:10b-11a;

2: CD III:7-8;

3: CD III:5-12;

4: cf. Ch.II, pp.14-16;

5: 1QS I:16;

6: D.Barthélemy, "Notes en marge sur les Manuscrits de Qumran", RB 59 (1952), pp.187-218 (cf.p.206);

literal meaning of the root רצו , "to cross over"¹. The new member actually "crosses over" from the laxity of the old covenant community to the renewed integrity of the sectarian covenant in the desert of Qumran.

The merit and validity of the Sinai covenant have been called in question. The old covenant community has failed in its covenant responsibility and could, therefore, no longer be used as a worthy instrument and carrier of Israel's covenant history.

d) The Return to Covenant Law

In Hosea, the desert is understood as the sphere of a "covenant of return", a return to the faithfulness of the covenant community under Moses. There, the root שׁוּב was applied categorically to the whole nation of Israel and involved the "turning away" from a life of idolatry and syncretism², back to a programme of faithfulness which had once been the strength of the Sinai covenant. Hosea's desert orthodoxy and his call to a covenant of return were grounded in the prophet's conviction that the ancient desert community represented the epitome of the true covenant people.

For the Qumran community, on the other hand, there is no original covenant faith to emulate. The old covenant community, as well as its own contemporaries, has failed and is under judgment.

1: J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.13, translates, "hindurchgehen".

2: cf. A.Caquot, "Osée et la Royauté", RHPR 41 (1961), pp.123-146;

Only one alternative remains open. The community must "turn away" from the covenant faithlessness of the old community and "turn toward" a new programme of covenant allegiance. Hence, in the Qumran texts, it is not Israel as a whole but the novice who takes a binding oath "to be converted (or: "to return") to the law of Moses"¹. The action involved in the word נָוָה expresses this clearly:

"He will bring him into the covenant that he may be converted (נָוָה) to the Truth and turn away (נָוָה) from all perversity"².

This renewed allegiance they called the "new covenant"³; the "covenant of justice"⁴; the "covenant of the community"⁵ and the "covenant of God"⁶, in each case, the emphasis being on the loyalty and dedication of the community to the law. This law the community is called upon to observe to perfection: "he shall step aside neither to right nor to left, and shall make no single step from all His words"⁷.

The conversion from the old way of negligence to the new way of allegiance will take place in the desert:

"They shall be separated from the midst of the habitation of perverse men to go into the desert to prepare the way of 'Him' as it is written, 'In the wilderness prepare the way of...., make straight in the desert a highway for our God! This (way) is the study of the law....'"⁸.

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- 1: 1QS I:3; V:8; CD XV:9,12; XVI:2,5; cf. H.Braun, " 'Umkehr' in spät-jüdisch-häretischer und in frühchristlicher Sicht", ZTK 50, (1953), (pp.243-258).
 2: 1QS VI:15.
 3: CD VI:19; VIII:21; XIX:33; XX:12; 1QpH II:3.
 4: 1QS VIII:9.
 5: 1QS VIII:16; 1Qsb V:21.
 6: 1QS I:26, V:8,18,19,22,23; X:10; CD I:17; III:11,13; IV:9; V:12; etc.
 7: 1QS III:11.
 8: 1QS VIII:13a-15a.

The community has returned to the desert to observe the law of the covenant, far from "the midst of the habitation of perverse men".

The desert period is a period of renewal, marked by a return to the law, a return to true covenant loyalty. The necessity of this, however, is accentuated by the nearness of the final consummation, the dawning of the messianic era:

"They shall be governed by the first ordinances in which the members of the community began their instruction, until the coming of the prophet and the anointed of Aaron and Israel"¹.

The desert period is the time for clearing the way of the Lord, It is the time to serve as a discipline before God's final rule will be established as an eternal reality under the rule of the messiah. It is the time appointed by God "for the existence of perversity"², of bitter conflict between the powers of good and evil³, during which God continues to purify His elect and separate them from the influence of the faithless⁴.

God has given to the community His law in order that he might make conciliation for them and restore them to a covenant of everlasting efficacy⁵. In the desert, the community is purified, disciplined and prepared for final atonement and reconciliation. They are the "converts of the desert"⁶, who have entered a "covenant of repentance" (ברית תשובה)⁷.

1: 1QS IX:10b-11;

2: 1QS IV:18;

3: 1QS IV:2-18;

4: CD II:6; VI:12f; VII:21; VIII:4; 1QS VI:24f; II:12-19;

5: cf. 1QS III:5b,11; CD XX:27-28,33-34;

6: 4QpPs37,II:1;

7: CD VIII:4

e) The Atoning Community

It becomes immediately evident that the community has come conspicuously close to the desert theology of Hosea. Through Israel's disobedience and the impending judgment of Yahweh, the covenant was in peril and the very continuity of the nation's history of salvation was in the balance. For both Hosea and the community, the only possible alternative to the dilemma lay in a new beginning, a "covenant of return" in the desert. For both too, the Sinai covenant formed the basis and starting-point of their respective desert themes. The covenant community of the desert must again iterate the conditions of the old covenant community under Moses. Israel shall return and again live in tents as in former days.

It must at once be noted, however, that there is a distinct and significant difference. For Hosea, the desert signified a return to the faithfulness of the old covenant community. For the Qumran community, on the other hand, there was no original covenant loyalty to which to return, for the old covenant community had failed and it too was under judgment.

The question arises: "How, then, are we to understand the community's preoccupation with the theme of the desert?". The solution to this dilemma lies in the building terminology which is often applied to the community in connection with its atoning function:

"But in the community they shall circumcise the foreskin of the (evil) inclination and disobedience in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the everlasting covenant"¹.

1: 1QS V:5a-6a;

The community frequently speaks of itself as the "foundation"¹, the "tower"², the "wall"³ and the "house"⁴. In 1QH VI, the speaker expresses his gratitude to God for having found refuge in a "fortified city" and deliverance in a "steep wall" (line 25). He then continues:

"And I lean(ed on) Thy truth, O my God. For it is Thou who wilt set the foundation upon rock and the framework on the cord of righteousness and the plumb-line (of truth) to (tes)t the tried stones in order to (build) a stout bui(ld)i(ng) such as will not shake, and that none who enter there shall stagger"⁵.

The association of this building terminology with the idea of "truth" and "righteousness" is reminiscent of passages such as Hab.2:9-12, Is. 28:16 and Is.26:1-4, where it is used to refer to the faithful, eschatological people of God, "the righteous nation which keeps faith" (Is.26:2). The use of expressions such as "house of truth", "house of perfection" and "foundation of truth", indicates that the community, likewise, understood itself to be the nucleus of spiritual integrity and covenant obedience. But the community has progressed still a step further. Through this life of obedience and discipline, it has become a "foundation of truth for Israel and for the community of the everlasting covenant". While the old covenant community could no longer be used by God as the instrument for the accomplishment of His purpose in history⁶, the community feels called upon to fulfill

1: 1QS VIII:8; 1QH VII:9; VII:25;

2: 1QH VII:8;

3: 1QH VII:8,9; 1QS VIII:7;

4: 1QS VIII:5,9;

5: 1QH VI:26-27;

6: The Opponents are a "city of vanity" (1QpH X:9-12; 4QpPs37,II:15f), and a "stronghold of ungodliness", (4QTest.21f);

precisely that function. It is the framework "on the cord of righteousness", the "stout building", the "foundation" through which Israel's covenant history will find its continuity and move toward its fulfillment in an "everlasting covenant".

The idea that the witness of the community will, in some way, have a beneficial effect upon the history of the whole nation, can be further amplified with reference to the community's conception of its own atoning function:

"They shall be witnesses to the truth at the judgment, and shall be the elect of goodwill who shall atone for the land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be that tried wall, that precious corner stone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place. It shall be a most holy dwelling for Aaron with everlasting knowledge of the covenant of justice...It shall be a house of perfection and truth in Israel that they may establish a covenant according to the everlasting precepts; And they shall be an agreeable offering atoning for the land and determining the judgment of wickedness...."¹.

Here again, the emphasis is on the community as the "foundation", the "house of perfection and truth", by whose witness to the "truth" and covenant allegiance, an "everlasting covenant" shall be established. It is the righteous, interim covenant community through which Israel's history of salvation is continued to culminate in "a covenant according to everlasting precepts". On one occasion, this is expressed in the crucial phrase, "to atone for the land", while on another, it is described as "an agreeable offering atoning for the land".

1: 1QS VIII:6a-10a; Translation by G.Vermes;

In many contexts, the root 793 has God as its subject and is practically synonymous with "election". It is an act of reconciliation to the covenant, with Yahweh, the prime agent, working in and through the community, His chosen instrument¹.

In the above passage, however, it is precisely the community which is the subject of the verb: "They shall be the elect of goodwill who shall atone for the land" (line 6). There is no suggested implication here that the community's life of discipline has a vicarious quality, or can be understood as being of expiatory value

1: This concept finds clear expression in IQS III:1-12a. The entire section forms a kind of "credo", or dogmatic treatise, on the subject of atonement. Several distinct points are discernible in this doctrine:

i) Atonement cannot be achieved as long as man's nature continues to be dominated by his stubbornness (line 3); as long as he refuses to be governed by the "ordinances of righteousness", "the ordinances of God" (lines 1,5). There is no sacrificial or cultic procedure which can bring him atonement as long as man hides his need of God and refuses to be converted (lines 1,3-4b). Atonement requires, not only observance of law, but also submission in that observance: "By his soul's humility towards all the precepts of God", (line 8).

ii) The stubbornness of man is based on the false assumption that he is capable of achieving atonement by himself. The fact remains, "He cannot purify himself by atonement" (line 4; tr. Brownlee); The supreme source of all atoning work is God. cf. CD II:2-5a; IQS XI:14; IQH IV:37.

iii) The present serves as a preparation in order that complete and final atonement may be realized in the end-time (lines 10-11; CD XX:33-34). Again, it is God who brings about this final act of atonement: "He shall be accepted by virtue of pleasing atonement before God" (line 11) (tr. Vermes). This sacrificial terminology is to be understood in the light of Lev.19:5 and Ez.20:41.

iv) Eschatological atonement is the fulfillment of election to an "everlasting covenant" (lines 11b-12a). It is more than forgiveness pure and simple. It results in the re-establishment of the member to the covenant.

for the sins of Israel as a whole¹. Any possible allusion to the vicarious force of this atonement has been avoided by the adjoining phrases, "determining the judgment of wickedness", and "pay to the wicked their reward". When there is an implication of expiation, such is confined to the sphere of the community: "For all who are volunteers for the holiness of Aaron"². Hence, "extra ecclesiam nulla salus".

It is possible, however, to read the word לְעֵלְיוֹת in the phrase $\text{לְעֵלְיוֹת לְעֵלְיוֹת}$ in the sense of לְעֵלְיוֹת , "instead of", or, "on behalf of"³. What we have, then, is a true substitutionary doctrine of atonement without its vicarious or expiatory implications. The community members are "the elect of goodwill to atone on behalf of the land". Through its witness of discipline and righteousness, it presents "an agreeable offering atoning on behalf of the land". It is the nucleus of integrity, the spiritual elite, upon which God has focussed the whole future of the "land" of Israel.

The new covenant community will again express the conditions of the old desert community under Moses, but for a reason quite different from that of Hosea. The eschatological era, the time of fulfillment is close at hand. God, aware of the infidelities of the ancient community, has chosen the Qumran community to be the preserver

1: cf. J. Hempel, "Die Wurzeln des Missionswillens im Glauben des Alten Testaments", ZAW 66 (1954), pp. 244-272; (cf. pp. 244-250); A.S.v.d. Woude, "Lyden en Verzoening in de Handschriften van de Dode Zee", NedThT 16 (1961), p. 92;

2: 1QS V:6;

3: In this sense, it appears in Job 2:4: "All that a man has he will give for (or: instead of) his life".

and carrier of Israel's salvation history: "the foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the everlasting covenant". It is the interim covenant community through which Israel's covenant history moves toward its fulfillment. Furthermore, God has chosen the community "to atone on behalf of the land", to "present an agreeable offering atoning on behalf of the land". God has chosen the community to secede to the desert, to live under the conditions of the old covenant community in order that, by a life of discipline and virtue, it may replace that community and more worthily represent the true people of God.

4. Summary

In this chapter, we have seen how the Qumran community finally succeeded in resolving the dilemma of the covenant.

Behind the idealism of the desert there lies an idealism of the covenant. According to Hosea, the desert is the sphere of a renewed covenant, characterized by a renewed election and a renewed devotion. The same idealism of the covenant forms the background to the desert theme in the Qumran texts: a new election and a new response. The distinction between a "renewed" response and a "new" response is significant, however. The latter involved a breaking away from the Sinai covenant and moving toward a new moral and cultic programme. The merit and validity of the Sinai covenant have been called in question. In the desert the community "turns away" from the old way of negligence and faithlessness and "turns toward" a new programme of covenant allegiance: "the new covenant, "the covenant of the community" and "the covenant of God".

The rejection of the merit and validity of the old covenant community had a significant bearing on the community's theme of the desert. Through its life of virtue and devotion in the desert, the community understood itself to be atoning for the sins of the past, not in any vicarious sense, but in a purely substitutionary one. By living a life of virtue, under the conditions of the past, the community understood itself to be replacing the old covenant community and as representing it more worthily as the true people of God. They are the people of the new covenant upon whom God has focussed all the hopes and expectations of Israel's covenant history.

PART TWO

ELECTION AND COVENANT

A. THE PRIESTLY DOCTRINE OF ELECTION

CHAPTER V

THE ELECTION OF THE CULT AND PRIESTHOOD

1. Introduction:

Even a superficial study will make one indisputably aware of the presence of a strong and decisive priestly element in the writings of the Qumran community. Such priestly influence is evident in the incontestable priority given to the priests in matters of cult administration and law interpretation. However, beyond the influence made upon the organizational and structural form of the community, this distinctive religious element also left its characteristic marks indelibly imprinted upon the community's conception of the covenant. Following the initial secession from Jerusalem, the Qumran priesthood felt an ever-increasing need to legitimize the prerogatives of its sacred office and, indeed, the validity of the entire cult it represented. We shall see how the priestly concept of election fulfilled an essential role in this process of legitimization.

2. Election and Cult

a) The "Panim" and the Cult in the Old Testament

In the Old Testament, פָּנִים is an anthropomorphic designation for the "face of Yahweh"¹. The latter is often used to express the

1: cf. Gen.33:10; Ps.24:6; 27:8; 34:16; etc.;

accessible nature of God to man. Man may "seek the face of Yahweh", ((יהוה 'פנ שפא)¹, "appear before the face of Yahweh", ((פנא יהוה 'פנ)² or "see Yahweh face to face", ((פנא יהוה 'פנ)³.

Undoubtedly, the idea of "seeking" or "appearing" before the "face of Yahweh" originated in the conception of the sanctuary or sacred shrine as the seat of the divine presence. Similarly, in the Old Testament "the presence of Yahweh" is inseparably linked to the cult, the sacred shrine or temple. It is an expression of His "presence", accessible and available as a concrete reality within the worship of the cult⁴. Thus Jacob called the place where he wrestled with the angel, "Peniel", "the presence of God"⁵. Numbers 4:7 speaks of "the bread of the presence", ((פנא יהוה 'פנ), which is placed in the "tent of meeting" before the "presence of God"⁶. Yahweh spoke with Moses "face to face" on Mount Sinai⁷, and Joshua renews the covenant at Shechem "in the presence of God"⁸. Again, Samuel ministers in the temple in the "presence of God"⁹. Similar cultic connections are evident in Ps.11:4 : "The Lord is in His holy temple", and vs.7: "The upright shall behold His face" ((פנא יהוה). Ps.95:2, the procession or entrance hymn, invites the congregation "to come into His presence with thanksgiving"¹⁰.

1: Ps.24:6; 27:8; etc.

2: Ex.23:15,17; 34:20,23; etc.

3: Gen.32:31; Ex.33:11; Deut.5:4; etc.

4: Cf. F.Nötscher, Das Angesicht Gottes schauen nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung, Würzburg, 1924; W.Eichrodt, Op.cit., Vol.I, pp. (103-104).

5: Gen.32:30.

6: Cf. Ex.25:30; 35:13; 39:36.

7: Deut.5:4.

8: Josh.24:1.

9: 1 Sam.2:18.

10: Cf. Ps.100:2.

In addition to these consistent associations of Yahweh's "panim" with the cult and worship of Israel, it also occupied a central place in the total religious life of the nation. Thus, it is the "presence of Yahweh" which accompanied Israel during the Exodus from Egypt¹. Yahweh's "presence" is the confirmation of His elective love, the assurance of his saving work and covenant mercy:

"The angel of His presence saved them; in His love and in His pity He redeemed them"².

It is in the light of this identification between Yahweh's "presence" and His elective saving work, that we must understand its relationship to the covenant. The covenant renewal under Joshua takes place in the "presence of Yahweh" (Josh.24:1). Daniel entreats Yahweh to let his "face" shine upon the sanctuary before he enters into a covenant with him³.

We may conclude, then, that Yahweh's "panim", while not synonymous with "covenant", has a distinct covenantal tone, particularly with reference to the cult. It is the presence of Yahweh's "panim" at the cultic act of the covenant renewal which ratifies the covenant bond and guarantees its abiding efficacy.

1: Deut.4:37;

2: Is.63:9; Man seeks the "face of Yahweh" in times of crisis (2 Sam 21:1), in repentance (Hos.5:15; 2 Chron.7:14), and His "face" shines upon them as a sign that the covenant relationship has not been severed, (Nu.6:25; Ps.4:6; 67:1; 80:3,7,19; 119:135; Dan.9:17). But His "face" can also be turned in anger against Israel and reject her, (Lev.20:3-6; Jer.7:15; 21:10; etc.). For this reason, the psalmist entreats Yahweh: "Hide not Thy face from me", (Ps.27:9) (30:7; 44:24; 69:17; 88:14; etc.;).

3: Dan.9:17,27;

b) The "Panim" and the Cult in the Qumran Texts

The relationship between God's "presence" and the "covenant" is also evident in the Qumran texts.

The blessing formulation within the context of the covenant ceremony of 1QS, iterates the hope that God will favour the community with פָּנֵי, or "covenant grace":

"May He lift His gracious face (פָּנֵי '39) towards thee to grant thee eternal bliss!"¹.

The covenantal implications of this blessing are clear. The expression

פָּנֵי '39, "face of grace", literally, is reminiscent of the "covenant of grace" of 1QS I:8. Again, עֲלֵי עֲלֵי, "eternal" or "everlasting bliss", is echoed in עֲלֵי עֲלֵי, in 1QS IV:22, "the everlasting covenant". In the latter, the emphasis is also on election: "God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant"². The "gracious face" of God can thus be understood as referring to the act of divine "grace" or "mercy" within the covenant.

The curse formulation is pronounced by the Levites:

"May He lift His angry face to revenge Himself upon thee"³.

The relationship between "angry face" and "revenge" is interesting in the light of CD I:17 :

"That the curses of His covenant may cling to them, delivering them up to the avenging sword, the avenger of the covenant!"

In distinct contrast with the "face of grace", the "face of anger" embodies the curse of the covenant, the sword and avenger of the

1: 1QS II:4

2: cf. 1QS V:5b-6a;

3: 1QS II:9

covenant: total and complete isolation from the sphere of the covenant. CD I:3b amplifies this:

"He hid His face ()'19) from Israel and its sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword".

The writer has substituted ^{for} the words "from them" of Ezekiel 39:23 the expression "from His sanctuary". That this was, by no means accidental is indicated in CD VII:15, where the words "from beyond" of Amos 5:27 have been replaced by "from my tent", the latter referring to the Jerusalem temple. The insertion of $\psi\tau\pi\delta$, "sanctuary", is similarly a device used deliberately by the writer to accentuate his conviction that God's "face" ()'19) has been removed from the Jerusalem temple¹. His implications are clear: God's "presence" within the cult, the assurance of His covenant and election, has been removed and is no longer in force in the Jerusalem temple. The covenantal intentions of these words are emphasized by the contrasting destiny of the community expressed in the adjoining line:

"But remembering the covenant of the patriarchs
He left a remnant to Israel"²

1: H. Kosmala, Op.cit., pp.363-377, (cf. pp.364-366), suggests that $\psi\tau\pi\delta$ is synonymous with $\psi\tau\pi\delta\ \eta'\gamma$, the "house of holiness" of 1QS VIII:5; According to Kosmala, it is used here in the sense of the Deuteronomic $\eta'\gamma\ \psi\tau\pi\delta\ \delta\gamma$, the "spiritual sanctuary" of God's covenant people. The community identifies itself with the sanctuary or $\psi\tau\pi\delta$. The main objection to this view is that in several contexts the term $\psi\tau\pi\delta$ applies to the Jerusalem temple, against which the community directed its accusations. Kosmala, sensing the difficulty, suggests that such polemical outbursts are aimed at the community itself and not the Jerusalem temple. When the community accuses itself, however, the texts speak of "those that have departed from the way", the "backsliders", (CD I:13) and not of "sanctuary". There is thus no warrant for the equation "house of holiness" (1QS VIII:5) = "sanctuary" (CD I:3) = community.

2: CD I:4

The conviction of the Qumran priesthood that God has removed His "presence" from the Jerusalem temple and that thus the covenant with its cult and priesthood has been annulled, creates a serious and far-reaching theological predicament. The implications of this can be best illustrated with reference to the Old Testament.

c) The Crisis of the Cult in the Old Testament

In Exodus 34:9b, Moses confronts Yahweh with the request:

"I pray Thee, go in the midst of us".

These words appear within the context of a covenant ceremony, the account of which has been attributed to the work of the J theologian¹. The structure of this ceremony shows that many of the traditional elements of the ancient ceremony described in chapter 24 have retained their basic form and have again found expression in this account². There are several indications, however, that the formulation of chapter 34 is a modified form of a more ancient covenant ceremony and that, in fact, we are dealing with a renewal of the original covenant concluded on Mount Sinai:

1) In vs.10a, there occurs the ancient form כרת ברית, which is generally understood to be pre-Israelite³. In vs.27, this form has been extended to כרת אתך ברית ואני ושראש. The words

1: cf. W.Beyerlin, Op.cit., p.32;

2: cf. K.Baltzer, Op.cit., p.50f;

3: cf. W.F.Albright, "The Hebrew expression for 'making a covenant' in pre-Israelite Documents", BASOR 121 (1951), p.21f;

ואת ישראל are, unquestionably, a later addition to the shorter and more original form of vs.10a¹. The relative lateness of this addition is indicated by 2 Kings 23:3.

"And the king stood by the pillar and made a covenant (לכרת את ברית);....and all the people joined in the covenant, (וְכָל-הָעָם הָיָה בְּבְרִית)".

In the latter, we are dealing with a renewal of the original Sinai covenant². The covenant is first concluded with king Josiah, after which all the people join in. Within the renewal of the covenant, the king acts as mediator on behalf of Moses, the original mediator of the Sinai covenant described in Exodus 24. A very similar development is evident in the covenant renewal under Joshua in Joshua 24:15b,24. The close resemblance between 2 Kings 23:3 and Exodus 34:27 suggests that the latter too is a renewal of the Sinai covenant. This is further confirmed in vs.1, where Moses is instructed to cut tables "like the first".

ii) The original ושרף דברים of chapter 24, while still forming the basis of the ceremony in chapter 34:1, have been replaced by an independent collection of legal prescriptions in vs.10-27, which display certain parallels with Exodus 23:12-19. The reason for this substitution of the original "ten words" must lie in the fact that we are dealing with a covenant renewal rather than with an account

1: cf. B.Baentsch, Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Göttingen, 1903,
2: H.J.Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, München, 1954, p.88; (p.285;

of the original covenant. This renewal takes place within the context of a new cultic setting. While the account of E in chapter 24 reflects the conditions of life around the desert shrine of Shechem, the account of J in chapter 34 reflects a new situation, namely that of the Canaanite sanctuary of Shiloh¹. If the Sinai covenant is to continue, then Israel must again obey the law. This law, however, does no longer consist of the original "ten words", but has been modified and expanded in order to adjust to the new conditions of the land of Canaan.

It is in the light of this new Sitz im Leben ~~background~~ that we must understand Moses' request in Exodus 34:9b : "I pray Thee, go in the midst of us". The J.theologian is faced with a crisis. During Israel's desert existence, it was only at certain specified places of worship that Yahweh could communicate with His people². After the settlement in Canaan, the question arose whether Yahweh could continue to make Himself known within the new cultic setting of Shiloh. The real crisis of the situation comes to the foreground in Exodus 33:15.

"If Thy presence (D'19) will not go with me
do not carry us up from here".

The answer to Moses' request is given in vs.10a : "Behold, I make a covenant". This, however, is not sufficient. The J theologian is also concerned that Yahweh will appear among the descendants of

1: cf. W.Beyerlin, Op.cit., pp.100-102;

2: cf. W.Eichrodt, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.102;

Moses in the land of Canaan. For this reason, he has extended the original form to "behold, I make a covenant with you and Israel". The covenant confirms his belief that Yahweh's "panim" is still a reality in the new situation of Shiloh. It is not Yahweh of Sinai who says that He will conclude a covenant, but "a God merciful and slow to anger" (vs.6), who has led His people into Canaan and is still present among them there. The renewal of the covenant, through the initiative of Yahweh, is seen as the solution to the crisis of the cult.

d) The Crisis of the Cult in the Qumran Texts

A very similar predicament confronted the Qumran priesthood when it stated that God's "panim", the seal of His covenant love, has been removed from the cult of Jerusalem. The crisis of the situation centered around the question: "Can God's 'presence' again become manifest in the new cultic setting of Qumran?". The community provided a positive solution to this dilemma:

"At that time, the men of the community shall be set apart as a house of holiness for Aaron for the union of supreme holiness, and (as) a house of community for Israel"¹.

In 1QS VIII:5-9, the word "house" (בֵּית) is similarly used as a designative term for the community: "house of perfection and truth" (line 9), and "house of holiness" (line 5). In connection with its occurrence there we have suggested that this building terminology is descriptive of the community as the nucleus of integrity and obedience².

1: 1QS IX: 5b-6; (Tr.by G.Vermes);
2: cf. p.79;

It is, furthermore, significant that the word occurs, almost invariably, within the context of passages which carry a distinctive priestly tone¹: "expiation" (V:6,10), "holiness for Aaron" (V:6), "offerings of sweet savour" (V:9), "agreeable odour" (IX:5), "burnt offering and the fat of sacrifice" (IX:4), "delectable oblation" (IX:5), etc. This clearly recognizable sacerdotal influence suggests that the word "house" is to be understood in the light of the Old Testament where it is a symbolic expression for the temple². Hence, the community understood itself to be, by virtue of its integrity, the exact counterpart of the Jerusalem temple³.

In the light of this community-temple equation, it is not surprising that the community also speaks of itself as "a dwelling of infinite holiness"⁴, or, "a most holy dwelling" (D'WTP WTP TYIA)⁵. Again, in line 6 above, the text refers to "the union of supreme holiness" (D'WTP WTP). It is possible, however, and in this sacerdotal context more likely, that D'WTP WTP is to be translated as "sanctuary" or "holy of holies"⁶, which in the Old Testament is the seat of Yahweh's "presence" within the precincts of the temple⁷. The community not only identifies itself with the temple as the "spiritual sanctuary", but extends this to include the "holy of

1: It has been suggested (cf. p.41) that the entire section VIII:1-IX:11 belongs to a pre-Qumran community.

2: יְהוָה - 2 Chron.35:2,3,8,20; Ezra 1:4,7; 3:8,9; etc.;

3: cf. J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.46ff; 77f;

4: cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.91, ad loc;

5: cf. G.Vermes, Op.cit., p.85, ad loc;

6: cf. M.Black, Op.cit., p.42-43; W.H.Brownlee, Op.cit., p.35 (n.10);

7: cf. Th.C.Vriezen, Op.cit., p.151;

holies", the sacrosanct seat of God within the temple, the theophanic centre where God's "presence" makes itself known¹.

This close association between God's "panim" and the cult of Qumran is interestingly amplified in Jubilees 1:17.

"I will build my sanctuary in your midst and I will dwell with you and I will be your God and you will be my people".

Here, the sanctuary is understood as the spiritual presence of God which, in turn, is regarded as a confirmation of the covenant bond: "I will be your God and you will be my people". A similar emphasis may be noted in the Qumran texts. In the above-quoted passage, 1QS IX:5b-6, it is God who sets the community apart as a "holy of holies", the theophanic centre of His presence. Elsewhere, this same activity of God is understood as the activity of His election:

"But Thou hast chosen for Thyself a people in the time of Thy good-will...And Thou hast (appointed) them to be set apart from all the peoples as a holy thing for Thyself"².

The setting apart as a "holy thing" from "all the peoples" is reminiscent of Deut.7:6.

"For you are a people holy to the Lord; the Lord has chosen you to be a people for His own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth".

That the community was familiar with this passage is evident from 1QM X:9, where it has been repeated almost word for word. In Deuteronomy,

1: H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.373 : "Das Heiligtum ist Wohnung Gottes und von seiner Gegenwart erfüllt".

2: 1Q34bis, III:5;

however, the word "holy" in relation to "people" is synonymous with קדוש and has thus an active quality, referring to a personal witness of the "people of God's possession" within the covenant¹. The community on the other hand, interpreted the word קדוש as an absolute and in a more passive way. It has been elected and set apart as a "holy thing" or a "sanctuary"². This priestly emphasis on the election of the cult is also evident in 1QS VIII:5-6.

"It is the house of holiness for Aaron...
the chosen of loving-kindness"

It is through this identification between election and the "sanctuary" as the centre of God's "presence" that the expositor of CD solves the dilemma which confronted him. As in Exodus 34, God's election and renewal of the covenant provide a solution to the crisis:

"But remembering the covenant of the
patriarchs, He left a remnant to Israel"³.

These words follow immediately upon the statement that God's "panim" has been removed from Jerusalem. In this way, the writer accentuates his basic conviction. While God's election and covenant love are no longer in force in the temple of Jerusalem, through His "presence" within the "sanctuary" of Qumran, that same election and covenant have found continuity. Therefore:

"All who decide to enter into the rule of the
community shall pass into the covenant in the
presence of God"⁴. ($\text{כָּל־הַמִּשְׁתַּבְּחִים לְפָנֵי הַיְיָ יִכְרְזוּ וְיִתְקַבְּלוּ בְּפָנֵי הַיְיָ}$)

The presence of God's "panim" within the cult of Qumran seals and ratifies

1: cf. W.Eichrodt, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.277-278;

2: cf. 1QS VIII:11;

3: CD I:4;

4: 1QS I:16;

the covenant bond between God and the community.

3. Election and Priesthood

a) The Elect Priesthood

There remains little doubt that the doctrine of the "elect sanctuary" represents a conscious attempt to legitimize, not just the prerogatives of the cult, but particularly the sacred office of the priesthood. The community understood its priesthood to have come within the same sphere of God's elective activity:

"May He choose those who are among the priesthood"
('שבו' לכה (יחנה) ה' יבחר)¹.

The historical criterion of this election was derived from the Old Testament:

"And remember the judgment (of Nadab and Abi)hu sons of Aaron by whose judgment God was sanctified in the eyes of (all His people), (whereas Eleazar) and Ithamar He joined to the covenant (for ever and e)ver"².

The account of the destinies of Nadab, Abihu Eleazar and Ithamar, in Leviticus 10:1-4 and Numbers 3:4, was of special significance to the Qumran priesthood. While the former two underwent God's judgment, the latter were restored to their proper functions within the cult. The community understood similar developments to have taken place in its own time. While God removed His "presence" from the Jerusalem priesthood in judgment, the Qumran priesthood has been restored in

1: 1QSb III:1; ^{My own translation} The form שבו is used in Ps.26:4 in the sense of "to keep the company of". cf. Barthélemy-Milik, Op.cit., p.125: "être en société"; G.Vermes, Op.cit., p.207, "them that sit in the priestly (college";
2: 1QM XVII:2-3;

reconciliation :

"And God in His marvellous mysteries forgave
their iniquity and blotted out their sin; and
He built for them a sure house in Israel"¹.
(בית נאמן);

The community was mainly concerned with the restoration of the sacred
office of the priesthood and understood election to fulfill an
essential role in this restoration:

"(May He re)new for thee the covenant of the
(everlasting) priesthood and grant thee a
place (in the abode) of holiness"².

As in the case of Eleazar and Ithamar, this election and restoration
of the Qumran priesthood finds its roots in the "covenant of the
everlasting priesthood", concluded with Phinehas and Eleazar in
Numbers 25:11-13. We know from 1 Chron.6:1-15 that the house of Zadok
claimed direct descent from Aaron through Eleazar and Phinehas. The
necessity of legitimizing the priestly office by means of genealogy
is clearly evident in Ezra 2:61-63 and Neh.7:63-65. Again, in
Ecclus.45:6-24 and 1Macc 2:54, descent from the Aaronic priesthood
is claimed on the basis of an "everlasting covenant"³. After the
uprooting from the Jerusalem priesthood, the Qumran community, likewise,
felt the need to legitimize the prerogatives of its priesthood and
understood this to be achieved through the claim of election.

We may conclude that God's election of the cult of Qumran is
inseparably bound up with His election of its priesthood, which

1: CD III:19a;

2: 1QSb III:26;

3: cf. J.Bright, History of Israel, p.421; W.Eichrodt, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.65;

organizes and sustains the cult. The community is a "counter-cult" sustained by a "counter-priesthood", which has come to replace the official cult and priesthood of Jerusalem. Both, cult and priesthood, owe their legitimacy to the initiative of divine election to a "covenant of the everlasting priesthood".

b) The Cult and Priesthood

The implications of the rather confined concept of the elect priesthood can be best illustrated with reference to Ps.65:4.

"Blessed is he whom Thou dost choose (תבחר) and bring near to dwell in Thy courts".

The entire psalm is in the first person plural, with the exception of the above verse which abruptly changes over to the third person singular. This means that an isolated and particular individual is the object of תבחר. Furthermore, the phrase "bring near to dwell in Thy courts" suggests that a cultic dignitary is intended, probably the high priest whose privilege it was to enter the "Holy of Holies"¹, or the Levite who officiated in matters of ritual and sacrament². The psalmist emphasizes thus that this priestly authority within the cult is occupied by virtue of election³.

1: Lev.16:2;

2: cf. Ex.40:32; Nu.1:51; 3:6-9; 8:19; 18:1-5; Deut.28:1-8; etc.; On the functions of the priesthood, cf. T.Henshaw, The latter Prophets, London, 1958, p.304; Th.C.Vriezen, Op.cit., pp.263-269;

3: Most scholars are agreed that a priestly figure is the object of תבחר cf. H.Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, AThANT 37, Zürich, 1960, p.6 (n.4); K.Koch, Op.cit., ZAW 67 (1955), p.211;

Similarly, in the Qumran community, the priests and Levites occupied a position of unrivalled authority in matters of sacrament and jurisdiction within the cult¹. These cultic functions are quite evident in 1QS IV:22-28.

"He has chosen you...to number the saints and to bless your people...May you be as an Angel of the Presence in the abode of holiness... May He make you holy among His people and an (eternal) light (to illumine) the world with knowledge and to enlighten the face of the congregation (with wisdom)...May He consecrate you to the Holy of Holies".

This blessing is intended for the messianic age when the community will be instituted as the congregation of God. It is possible, however, that it forms part of a liturgy which was actually used by the community, "anticipating and symbolizing the coming of the messianic era"². For this reason, the functions which have been allotted to the priests in the above passage are those of the contemporary cult of Qumran: i) "to bless your people". This is reminiscent of the blessing pronounced by the priests within the context of the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS II:1b. ii) "an angel of the Presence in the abode of holiness". $\text{D' } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I}$ occurs in 1QH VI:13, in the sense of an intermediary between God and man³. "An abode of holiness" is reminiscent of the temple symbolism, used to describe the contemporary cult of the community (1QS VIII:9). The priest acts as intercessor within the cult of Qumran.

1: cf. J.M.Baumgarten, *Op.cit.*, HTR 46, (1953), p.142ff;

2: cf. G.Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p.206;

3: cf. M.Mansoor, *Op.cit.*, p.143 (n.1-2);

iii) "to illumine the world with knowledge and to enlighten the face of the congregation with wisdom". This has been influenced by 1QS V: 2,9, in connection with the function of the Sons of Zadok, the priests, as the interpreters of the law, by whose "decisions" the community as a whole is guided. iv) "consecrate you to the Holy of Holies". The term $\text{D}^{\text{I}}\text{W}^{\text{I}}\text{T}^{\text{I}}\text{P}^{\text{I}}\text{W}^{\text{I}}\text{N}^{\text{I}}\text{P}^{\text{I}}$ is commonly used to refer to the contemporary cult of Qumran as the theophanic centre of God's "panim".

It is significant that these cultic functions of the Qumran priesthood exist solely by virtue of election. As in Ps.65:4, they have been elected to fulfill their priestly office within the cult. The reference to "an eternal light to illumine the world with knowledge" is interestingly expanded in 1QSb III:23.

"(To bless) the sons of Zadok the priests whom God has chosen to establish His covenant forever (and to t)est all His ordinances in the midst of His people and to instruct them according to His command".

and in CD III:21b-IV:1a;3b:

"The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok who kept the charge of my sanctuary... the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel".

The entire sphere of the priestly office, the administration of the cult and instruction of the law, hinges on election.

c) The Eternal Priesthood

The close association of the doctrine of election with the cultic functions of the priesthood brings us to the question: "What is implied when the texts speak of election to a "covenant of the

i) Eschatological Priesthood in the Old Testament

In several Old Testament contexts, however, the writers have taken special care to stress also the reciprocal nature of the priestly covenant of Levi:

"Remember them O my God, because they have defiled the priesthood and the covenant of the priesthood".

"The lips of a priest should guard knowledge and men should seek instruction from his mouth for he is the messenger of the Lord" (777' 7XSS).

5: Mal.2:7;

Failure to do this requirement is a corruption of the "covenant of Levi" (Mal.2:8), a defilement of the "covenant of the priesthood", (Neh.13:29), and results in the "curse", for God will put them out of His "presence" (Mal.2:2-3). Particular care has been taken to preserve the reciprocal nature of the priestly covenant.

With reference to the future, the "covenant of the perpetual priesthood" is understood as the continuity of priestly service within the cult, a continuity which extends from the present into the eschatological era:

"The Levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence (D'19) to offer burnt offerings, to burn cereal offerings and to make sacrifices for ever"¹.

In the Old Testament, then, the conception of the Levi covenant is essentially a conception of an eternal priesthood, inseparably linked to the idea of the continuity of the priestly office in the eschatological cult.

ii) Eschatological Priesthood in the Qumran Texts

The Old Testament emphasis on the reciprocal status of the Levi covenant, upon election to priestly service in the eschatological cult, is also evident in the Qumran texts. We have noted already the close relationship which exists between election and cult and priestly service with reference to the present. As in the Old Testament this concept of election has been extended to the eschatological era.

1: Jer.33:18;

The Qumran priesthood has been elected to a "covenant of the everlasting priesthood", and has been destined "for service in the house of holiness"¹. The Sons of Zadok have been elected "to establish His covenant for ever", which means "to test all His ordinances in the midst of His people and to instruct them according to His command"². The parallels with the covenant of Levi of Mal.2:4 are apparent. They are "the chosen of Israel...who shall stand at the end of days"³. The Qumran priesthood has been chosen "to attend upon the service in the temple of the kingdom"⁴, the latter undoubtedly referring to the temple of the new Jerusalem⁵. In all these examples, election to "a covenant of the everlasting priesthood" is understood essentially as election to the execution of the priestly office in the eschatological sanctuary of God⁶.

4. The Priest-Messiah

a) Eschatological High Priest and Cult in Judaism

There is almost general agreement among scholars today that the community awaited the arrival of two messianic figures: the one from the royal line of David; the other, the High Priest, from the

1: 1QSb III:26;

2: 1QSb III:23;

3: CD IV:5;

4: 1QSb IV:25b; Translation by G.Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, Ad Loc;

5: cf. Barthélemy-Milik, Op.cit., p.127;

6: H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.85: "Entscheidend war das treue festhalten bis zum Ende an der Tora und an der Ordnung die an die priesterliche Tradition gebunden war".

line of Levi.¹ The expectations surrounding the latter are our particular concern here.

Especially in rabbinic circles, the expectation of a priestly messiah was very much alive and conformed, in a general way, to the description of Malachi's prophecy: He will come in the end of time, (Mal. 3:23), as the "messenger of the covenant", (Mal. 3:1), and as the fulfillment of the "covenant of peace", (Mal. 2:4f.). Thus, the Palestinian targum on Numbers 25:12 states:

"Behold, I confirm to him my covenant of peace and I will make him an angel of the covenant that he may ever live to announce the redemption at the end of the days".

Similarly, Ezekiel 37:25-26, announces the coming of a "prince" from the royal line of David who will also be the fulfillment of a "covenant of peace":

"And David my servant shall be their prince for ever. I will make a covenant of peace with them. It shall be an everlasting covenant with them".

In Judaic circles, the priestly, as well as the royal messiah, was understood to be involved in the eschatological drama of the redemption of the elect:

"For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a high priest and from Judah as it were a king and he shall save all the race of Israel".²

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- 1: In addition to bibliography suggested on page 45 (n.1), cf.:
K.Schubert, "Die Messiaslehre in den Texten von Chirbet Qumran", BZ 1 (1957), pp.177-197; E.L. Ehrlich, "Ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre der Qumransekte", ZAW 68 (1956), pp.234-243; L.H.Silbermann, "The Two Messiahs of the Manual of Discipline", VT 5 (1955), pp. 77-82; M.Burrows, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", AThR 34, (1952), pp.202-206;
2: Test.Sim.VII:1-2;

"To that generation Thou didst send redemption through two redeemers, as it is said, 'He sent Moses His servant and Aaron whom He had chosen'¹.

Thus, it appears that the priestly messiah was understood to be the redeemer from the line of Aaron and Levi, whose appearance embodied the fulfillment of the "covenant of peace", concluded with Phinehas, son of Aaron².

b) Eschatological High Priest and Cult in the Qumran Texts

The community's expectations surrounding the priestly messiah are somewhat distinctive. In 1QSb III:1-5, there occurs a blessing, intended for the eschatological high priest:

"May the Lord lift up His countenance towards you; (may He delight in the) sweet odour of your (sacrifices). May He choose (all) them that sit in your priest (ly college). May He store up all your sacred offerings...May He lift His countenance towards all your congregation...May He grant you everlasting peace (בְּשָׁלוֹם עוֹלָם)...May He lay the foundation of your peace for ever"³

The reference to "everlasting peace" is reminiscent of the "covenant of peace" of Numbers 25:12. That this priestly covenant indeed provided the background of this blessing is evident in 1QSb II:25, where the text speaks of an "everlasting covenant" (בְּרִית עוֹלָם), which is again an echo of the "covenant of the perpetual priesthood" (בְּרִית כֹּהֲנֵי עוֹלָם) of Numbers 25:12. Again, the priestly usage

1: Midrash Tehill. XLIII:1; cf. Test. Levi 18:2-4;

2: For a more detailed discussion of messianic expectancies in Judaism, cf. N. Wieder, "The Doctrine of the two Messiahs among the Karaites", JJS 6 (1955), pp.14-25; H.J. Schonfield, Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls, London, 1956, pp.61-72;

3: Translation by G. Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, Ad loc;

of the word $\text{D}^{\text{J}}\text{D}$, which is the assurance of God's "presence" and His election within the cult, points in the same direction.

The evidence which emerges displays a somewhat different emphasis in the community's conception of this priestly figure. Whereas in 4QPB I:4 the "messiah of Israel" was understood to inaugurate a "covenant of kingship", and in His redeeming activity embodied the fulfillment of the Davidic covenant promise, no such identification exists between the high priest and the Levi covenant. Instead of being the "messenger of the covenant" (Mal. 3:1), the mediator of the covenant promise in redemption, the high priest is himself the recipient of the covenant promise: "everlasting covenant", (1QSb II:25), "everlasting peace", (1QSb III:5,21), "everlasting truth" (1QSb III:28). There is no evidence to suggest that the eschatological high priest is involved in a redeeming activity, commonly associated with a messianic figure. The entire context suggests that he himself is the recipient of the promise of the Levi covenant¹.

The content of this covenant blessing consists in election to perform the priestly office at the sacrifices and offerings (1QSb III:1) over the priestly members of the community (line 2) and over the community as a whole (line 3). He is thus the cultic dignitary "par excellence", elected and blessed by God to execute

1: cf. M.Black, Op.cit., p.147; This may have been a conscious reaction toward a current belief (Test.Levi 18:2-4) according to which a Hasmonean messiah was expected to fulfill the destiny of the house of Levi in a redemptive act.

his priestly functions in the eschatological sanctuary¹.

It becomes at once apparent that the claims made for this priestly figure are not, in any way, different from those made for the other members of the priesthood. The Qumran priesthood has been elected to a "covenant of the everlasting priesthood", is the recipient of its blessings and promises. It has been set apart to perform its cultic and liturgical functions in the eschatological sanctuary of the new temple. There, it ^{it} ~~will~~ once again stand under the direction of a high priest who, like them, has been elected and who fills the role of supreme ecclesiastical head by virtue of that election.

5. Summary

In the Old Testament, as well as in the Qumran texts, there exists a remarkably close identification between the "presence of God" and the cult. The sanctuary is the seat of the divine "presence" and the confirmation of its availability to man. In purely covenantal thought-forms, this availability of God's presence in the cult can be understood as a ratification of His covenant bond with man. When, therefore, the community states that God's "presence" has been removed from the Jerusalem temple, the implications are obvious: His covenant bond with the cult and its priesthood has been abrogated. But while God's election and covenant are no longer in effect in

1: R.Mayer-J.Reuss, Op.cit., p.74: "Seine Aufgabe ist die Ausübung priesterlicher and kultischer Funktionen".

Jerusalem, by establishing His "presence" in the sanctuary of Qumran, that same election and covenant have been restored. The conclusion of the covenant act is, in itself, evidence that the community has come to replace the cult of Jerusalem as the theophanic centre of God's "presence", the seat of His accessibility to man.

The concept of the elect priesthood is quite inseparable from that of the elect cult. Not only the sanctuary, but the priests as well, have come within the sphere of God's elect. In a concrete and practical sense, this means being set aside for the performance of the priestly office in the cult. Again, with reference to the fulfillment of time, this election involves the privilege of assisting the high priest, the supreme cultic dignitary, in the eschatological cult of the new temple.

B. THE APOCALYPTIC DOCTRINE OF ELECTION

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY AND ELECTION

1. Introduction

The essential hallmark of apocalyptic thought is its belief in the unity of history. History originated, progresses and will culminate under the control of a sovereign God. But "their faith goes beyond the faith in the divine control of history, indeed. It is a faith in the divine initiative in history for the attainment of its finest goal"¹. All historical events evolve according to the unfolding purpose of God and move history itself closer to the fulfillment of that purpose: the judgment of the wicked and the vindication of the just; the realization of the perfect theocracy of peace and righteousness; the new age and kingdom of God².

The Qumran doctrine of election is intimately linked to this conception of history as a unity in which the events of past and present move irresistibly toward their fulfillment under the direction of a divine will or purpose. In this sense, it is possible to speak of it as an apocalyptic doctrine of election³.

1: H.H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, London, 1944, p.142;

2: cf. D.S. Russell, Op.cit., p.94; pp.104-109;

3: For a more detailed analysis of the relationship of the Qumran writings to apocalyptic literature, cf. H.H. Rowley, Jewish Apocalyptic and the Dead Sea Scrolls, London, 1957;

2. God "Remembers"

In the Old Testament, the root זכר occurs 73 times with God as subject¹. There, the appeal for Yahweh "to remember" is often expressed within the context of the covenant relationship². A similar covenantal context forms the background for its use in CD³ and elsewhere⁴. The essence of God's "remembering" lies in His action toward the community because of a previous commitment rather than a future involvement. In the Old Testament, this commitment is contained in the promise declared in the patriarchal covenant⁵. The use of זכר reflects an understanding of election as the preservation and continuation of God's covenant activity in virtue of a previous covenant commitment with the patriarchs. The emphasis is on the re-articulation and renewal of the covenant bond through God's elective initiative:

"In spite of all, Thou hast not rejected
the race of Jacob. Thou hast not rejected
Israel nor ruptured Thy covenant with them.
Thou hast remembered Thy covenant"⁶.

3. God "Atones"

The essence of the root סלח lies in God's "remembering" His previous covenant commitments. This idea can now be extended:

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- 1: cf. B.Childs, Op.cit., p.31;
 - 2: Jer.14:21; Ps.25:6; 119:49; 74:2; etc.;
 - 3: CD I:4; VI:2;
 - 4: 1QM X:7; 6QD III:5; 4QDibHam II:4; III:4; V:9;
 - 5: Ps.105:8; 106:45; 111:5; 1 Chron.16:15;
 - 6: 4QDibHam V:9;

"According to the covenant which God made with the forefathers, forgiving their sins (793), so shall He forgive their sins also"¹.

Here, the previous covenant commitment is God's atoning work among the "forefathers". Consequently, the community's appeal for God to "remember" can be an appeal for Him to atone:

"Thou who didst pardon our fathers when they rebelled against Thy covenant...because of Thy love for them and for the sake of Thy covenant Thou didst take pity on them. So let Thine anger and wrath against all sin turn away from Thy people Israel. Remember Thy marvels which Thou didst"².

The root 793 is used regularly to refer to God's forgiveness of man's sin³. Furthermore, God's atoning work is an essential part of His elective activity, for it signifies, not only pardon from sin, but also restoration to the covenant⁴. The root 793 embodies the two-sided nature of God's election as involving pardon from sin and restoration to the covenant. "It is an act which re-establishes man in his true relationship to God by removing the element which destroys that relationship"⁵. These covenantal implications are also evident elsewhere. To be abandoned by God's atoning work is to be beyond the sphere of His election⁶. To be abandoned from the covenant is to be beyond the sphere of His atonement⁷. But to procure "expiation" is

1: CD IV:9b-10a; Translation by G.Vermes;

2: 4QDibHam II:4-5; Translation by G.Vermes;

3: 1QS XI:14; CD III:18; IV:10; XX:34; 1QH III:21; XI:10; VII:30; etc.;

4: CD III:18;

5: J.J.Von Allmen, Vocabulary of the Bible, London, 1958, p.128; cf. Père^SLyonnet, "De Notione Expiationis", VD 37 (1959), pp.336-353; (cf. pp.349-352);

6: CD II:5,7;

7: 1QH IV:35,37;

to obtain "the covenant of the eternal community"¹.

Hence, we may conclude: the continuity of God's election and the preservation of His covenant commitments hinge on God "remembering" His "pardon" to the forefathers and on His willingness to "pardon" the sins of the community and restore its members as His covenant people².

4. "God Elects"

In the Old Testament, the elective initiative of Yahweh is commonly expressed through the root בחר³. The Qumran texts follow this tradition: God has "elected" (בחר) His people Israel⁴; the tribe of Judah⁵, or the city of Jerusalem⁶. This same election has now been focussed upon the community in general⁷, and upon the "Sons of Zadok" in particular⁸.

The substantive forms בחרים and בחרים occur with equal frequency in most texts. The community has been set apart as an "Erwählte Grösse": "The congregation of His elect"⁹; "His", or, "Thy elect"¹⁰; "The elect

1: 1QS III:11;

2: cf. Old Testament parallels: Deut.21:8; 2 Chron.30:18; Ez.16:63; Ps.65:

3: cf. Ps.65:4; Nu.16:5; Deut.7:6; etc.;

(3-4;

4: 1QM X:9;

5: 4QDib Ham IV:5; cf. M.Baillet, "Un Recueil liturgique de Qumran, Grotte 4: 'Les Paroles des Luminaires' ", RB 68 (1961), pp.195-250;

6: 4QDib Ham IV:3; For the restoration of this fragmentary passage, cf. K.G.Kuhn, Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten, Göttingen, 1960, Suppl. in RDQ 4, (1963);

7: 1QS IV:22; XI:7; 1QH XV:23; XVI:13;

8: 1Qsb III:23;

9: 4QpPs37, II:5; III:5 (בחרים); cf. H.Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran", RDQ 4, (1963), pp.235-270;

10: 1QpH V:4; IX:12; 4QpIs^d, I:3; 4QpPs37, I:5; II:5; III:5; IV:12; The Qumran בחרים is the equivalent of the Old Testament בחרים (Ps.105:6,43).

of God"¹; "The elect of Israel"²; "The elect of righteousness"³; "The elect among men"⁴; "The elect of the time"⁵; "The elect of goodwill"⁶; "The elect of the holy people"⁷; "The elect of heaven"⁸.

The peculiar characteristic of this root בחר is its close association with the eschatological expectations of the community. Almost invariably, the writers have projected its application into the eschatological era. The community is the קהילת בחר, the eschatological "congregation" of God's elect⁹. They are called "the elect of the time", "the elect of heaven", for they have been chosen to an everlasting covenant¹⁰ to gain eternal possession¹¹ and to perform service eternally¹². Only in two isolated instances, the qal has been used to refer to a renewal of the covenant¹³. It is interesting too to note that in CD the use of בחר with God as subject is found wanting, except for one single instance where it occurs in a negative form¹⁴. The substantive בחר occurs also once in CD IV:3, while in seven other cases it

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- 1: 1QpH X:13;
 2: 4QpPs37, I:3; 4QF1, I:19; CD IV:13;
 3: 1QH II:13;
 4: 1QS XI:16;
 5: 1QS IX:14;
 6: 1QS VIII:6; Translation by G. Vermes;
 7: 1QM XII:1;
 8: 1QM XII:5;
 9: 1QSa I:1;
 10: 1QS IV:22; 1Qsb I:2;
 11: 1QS XI:7;
 12: 1QH XV:23; 1Qsb III:23; 4QDibHam IV:3; H.W. Huppenbauer, Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten, ATHANT 34, Zürich, 1959, p.114: "Der Raum indem die Erwählten leben, beschränkt sich nicht mehr auf ein kleines Land, sondern erstreckt sich durch den ganzen Kosmos bis hin zum Throne Gottes, wo das ewige Licht des Himmels leuchtet". cf. H. Braun, Op. cit., Vol. II, p.43 (n.3): "Gott erwählt die Sektenglieder zum eschatologischen בחר".
 13: 1Q34bis, III:2,5;
 14: CD II:7;

refers to a human act of choice. An explanation for this may be found in the fact that the whole thought-structure of this writer is far less eschatologically orientated than is the case in the other writings¹. The author of CD appears to be primarily concerned with the act of election which, as a past event, has again revitalized the religious life of the community.

5. Summary

The preceding study of the election terminology in the Qumran texts, has enabled us to touch upon the main points of a doctrine which so extensively occupied the religious thought of the community and which so consistently influenced its covenant theology². These main characteristics may now be summarized to provide a basis from which a more detailed study can be launched:

- i) The root בָּחַל reflects an understanding of election as the preservation of God's covenant activity in virtue of His previous covenant commitments.
- ii) The concrete evidence of this continuation of God's election is His atoning work within the community.
- iii) A study of the root בָּחַל , on the other hand, showed that quite frequently election has been projected into the future and is intimately associated with the eschatological expectations of the community.

1: cf. H.Braun, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.136;
2: R.Mayer-J.Reuss, Op.cit., p.50;

Hence, election, as understood by the community, may be described as the activity of God within the community which as a past event has again been realized in the present and will be brought to its ultimate fulfillment in the eschatological future. Election and salvation history form an inseparable unity.

CHAPTER VII

THE COVENANT OF THE FOREFATHERS

1. Introduction

Our study of the root $\sqrt{\gamma}$ has shown that the community understood its election to be an active manifestation of God's faithfulness to a previous covenant commitment. This commitment is frequently described as "the covenant of the forefathers". Since not all texts employ identical thoughtforms to convey the realities implicit in this covenant, each text must be studied in detail in its own peculiar light. However, we shall first study the textual contexts of the patriarchal covenant in the Old Testament and, in this way, provide the necessary background to an understanding of the election concept in the Qumran community.

2. The Patriarchal Covenant in the Old Testament

a) The Origin of the Election Concept

The concepts of election and covenant are fundamental to an understanding of Israel's history and religion. While these cannot be regarded as wholly identifiable terms, there is no doctrine more closely associated with covenant than election. This liaison is

expressed in the covenant formula, "my people, your God"¹. The first part of this formula is the equivalent of the Deuteronomic מִסֵּאֵבֶיךָ ² or מִסֵּאֵבֶיךָ ³, "the people of His possession", commonly used to express the idea of Israel's election⁴.

The relative late appearance of the root מִסֵּאֵבֶיךָ has led several scholars to suggest that the concept itself is late⁵. Others think it is no more than an attempt on the part of Israel to formulate a theology of history in retrospect, a "Geschichtstheologie"⁶. While, admittedly, it is not given clear expression until Deuteronomy, it possesses there already a fixed doctrinal content within cultic credos of the earliest period⁷. The belief that Yahweh took Israel as His own peculiar people is not purely theological or conceptual, but is based on historical events which go back to the very origins of Israel's history and nationhood: God's covenant with the patriarchs⁸. The antiquity of this concept is evident in the ancient account of the Abraham covenant⁹.

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- 1: Cf. Ex.6:7; Lev.26:12; Deut.29:12; Jer.7:23; 11:4; 24:7; Ez.11:20; 14:11; Zech.8:8. On the relationship election-covenant, cf. K.Galling, Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels, BZAW 48, Giessen, 1928, p.34; G.E. Wright, The Old Testament against its Environment, London, 1950, p.54.
 - 2: Cf. Ex.19:5; Deut.7:6; 14:2; 26:18; Ps.135:4; Mal.3:17.
 - 3: Cf. Deut.4:20; 9:26; 9:29; Ps.28:9; 74:2.
 - 4: Cf. H.Wildberger, Op.cit., p.52; G.v.Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, BWANT 47, 1929.
 - 5: Cf. L.Köhler, Op.cit., p.66.
 - 6: G.E.Wright, Op.cit., p.50.
 - 7: Cf. Deut.6:20-25; 26:5-10a; cf. J.Bright, History of Israel, p.133. G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol.I, London, 1962, p.178.
 - 8: H.H.Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, London, 1950; K.Koch, Op.cit., ZAW 67, (1955), pp.205-226.
 - 9: It is impossible to discuss within the limits of this study the issue which exists in modern Old Testament theology between the views of G. von Rad and M.Noth and W.Beyerlin and G.E.Mendenhall concerning the relationship of election and covenant. The present writer would argue that these are not originally separate themes but are closely conjoined in the earliest sources.

b) Genesis 15

This account has been generally attributed to the work of the J theologian, writing after 800 B.C.¹ Most scholars also admit the extremely ancient nature of this work and suggest that the account is based on older confessional traditions, associated with a cultic centre². The antiquity of this document is indicated by the primitive ritual described in vs.7-21, parallels to which occur in Mesopotamian texts and culture³.

The principal theme is Abraham's future possession of the land:

"O Lord God, how am I to know that I shall possess it?" (vs.8).

The ritual in vs.9-12 and vs.17, is intended to provide an answer to this question⁴. In the light of non-biblical material, the ritual of dividing the animals in two can be understood as a covenant ceremony⁵.

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- 1: cf. A.Jepsen, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Vätergestalten", FS Alt, p.152; O.Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15", ZAW 70 (1958), p.123; A.Weiser and W.Staerk accept J authorship with E interspersed. cf. A.Weiser, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Göttingen, 1949, p.79,86; W.Staerk, "Zur alttestamentlichen Literarkritik : Gen.15", ZAW (1924), pp.58-74; G.von Rad, on the other hand, calls it a "Quellengeflecht", rendering any systematic source analysis impossible. cf. G.von Rad, Das Erste Buch Mose, Göttingen, 1953, p.153f;
 - 2: A.Jepsen, Op.cit., FS Alt, p.146,149, localizes it at Mamre in its original form, but allows for a later transmission to Hebron. O. Kaiser, Op.cit., ZAW 70 (1958), p.123, attributes vs.7-21 to Shechem and vs.1-6 to a Deuteronomic writer, actualizing patriarchal history. cf. G.von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.124, 168;
 - 3: cf. R.de Vaux, "Die Hebräischen Patriarchen und die Moderne Entdeckungen", Tübingen, 1959, Ad loc.;
 - 4: L.A. Snyders, "Genesis XV: The Covenant with Abraham", OTS 7 (1958), p.261, groups vs.7-21 and 17, and regards vs.13-16 as a later insertion. cf. O.Kaiser, Op.cit., ZAW 70 (1958), p.119;
 - 5: cf. H.Cazelles, "Der Gott der Patriarchen", Bibel und Leben(1961),p. 46f; B.W.Anderson, Op.cit., p.23;

This accounts for vs.18: "on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abraham", (כרת ברית), the Hebrew referring to the "cutting" of the animal or the "cutting" of the covenant¹.

This account of God's covenant with Abraham is quite unattached to any specific event in the life of the patriarch and has been superimposed upon the whole of the Abraham cycle as a separate theme. The J theologian has placed special stress upon the active self-commitment of God by participation in the covenant act (vs.17). Abraham is the passive recipient (vs.12). What is symbolized is not a human initiative and participation but divine self-commitment². This commitment is God's promise of the land (vs.18). In vs.8, however, Abraham poses a question concerning his own future, while the promise of the land in vs.18 is made effective, not for Abraham, but for his descendants. The J theologian sees patriarchal history and later history in a direct relationship of promise and fulfillment. The possession of the land in his own time is the fulfillment of the Abraham covenant promise. A similar actualization of patriarchal history is evident in vs 13-16. The covenant promise given to Abraham will be fulfilled after the

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- 1: כרת is derived from the Akkadian "birutu" or "go-between", referring to the animal which performs the role of intermediary between the covenant partners. Cf. S.Schedl, "Bund und Erwählung", ZTK 80, (1958), p.495f. G.J.Botterweck, Op.cit., p.39f. Many other suggestions have been made, however. Cf. E.Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, London, 1958, pp.210-211. On the primitive use of כרת cf. M. Noth, "Das alttestamentliche Bundschliessen im Lichte eines Mari-Textes", GSAT, 1957, pp.142-154.
- 2: Cf. H.W.Wolff, "Yahweh als Bundesvermittler", VT 6, (1956), p.316f. K.Kraetschmar, Op.cit., p.30; A.Jepsen, "Berith. Beitrag zur Theologie der Exilszeit", in FS W.Rudolph, Verbannung und Heimkehr, Tübingen, 1961, p.167.

slavery in Egypt and after the Exodus event. The Abraham covenant has been linked to the Exodus in a relation of promise and fulfillment¹. Hence, the possession of the land, an accomplished fact at the time of the J theologian, was made possible by the Exodus event which is itself the fulfillment of the Abraham covenant promise.

The promise of the land given to Abraham is an oath, an irrevocable commitment on the part of God², which has been transmitted to the other patriarchs, Isaac³ and Jacob⁴. The entire patriarchal tradition stands under the sign of promise⁵. This promise of the land dominated, to a marked degree, the theology of the Deuteronomist, who continued the process of assimilation between the patriarchal covenant tradition of Genesis 15 and the Exodus event⁶.

Through the association of the promise of the land with the saving events of the Exodus, begun by J and perpetuated by Deuteronomy, an important transition took place within the nature of the promise itself. Gradually, the promise of the land came to be understood as part of a greater promise: the promise of God's covenant faithfulness within redemptive events. The transitional stage is still evident in

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- 1: cf. W. Zimmerli, "Verheissung und Erfüllung", in C. Westermann, Probleme alttestamentlicher Hermeneutik, München, 1960, p.71; A. Jepsen, "Ueberlieferungsgeschichte", FS Alt, p.149: "Die Verheissung (land) wird jetzt auf Mose zurückgeführt und durch die Ereignisse der Mosezeit begründet".
- 2: cf. Gen.24:7;
- 3: Gen.26:3; 28:3;
- 4: Gen.28:14; 35:12; 48:4,16; Also Joseph: Gen.48:21; 50:24;
- 5: cf. J. Hoftyzer, Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter, Leiden, 1956; W. Zimmerli, "Verheissung", in C. Westermann, Hermeneutik, p.71;
- 6: cf. Ex.6:8; 13:5; Deut.6:10; 18:23; 28:11; cf. G. von Rad, "Verheissenes Land und Jahwes Land", GSAT (1958), pp.87-101;

several texts where covenant and land are used in conjunction¹. In many contexts, however, the patriarchal covenant promise has been detached from its original link to the land and has been associated with the saving acts of Yahweh within the covenant²:

"O offspring of Abraham his servant... Sons of Jacob His chosen ones...He is mindful of His covenant for ever...the covenant which He made with Abraham, His sworn promise to Isaac, which He confirmed to Jacob as a statute, to Israel as an everlasting covenant"³.

The psalmist continues to relate the saving acts of Yahweh among the captives in Egypt, in the Exodus event, and then concludes:

"For He remembered His holy promise, and Abraham His servant"⁴.

Here, the promise is used to refer to God's dealings with Israel and is synonymous with His eternal and irrevocable faithfulness to the covenant. The promise stands in the foreground as the creative, elective activity of God, operative in His delivering work by virtue of His previous commitments in the patriarchal covenant⁵. To succeeding generations, God's oath sworn to the forefathers remained a constant assurance that He would "remember" (זָכַר) the covenant⁶, that He would "not break" (לֹא יִשְׁבֹּט) His covenant⁷, that He would "keep covenant and steadfast love" (יִשְׁמְרֵם וְחַסְדֵּם) to a thousand generations.

1: cf. Judges 2:1; Lev.26:42,45;

2: cf. Ex.2:24; Deut.4:31; 7:8,12; 8:18; 10:15; 1 Kings 13:23; Ps.105:8; 106:45; 111:5; Also: Neh.1:5; 9:32; Dan.9:4; Jer.11:5; Mic.7:20;

3: Ps.105:6-10;

4: Ps.105:42;

5: The occurrence of the promise in Ugaritic texts, testifies to its antiquity. cf. C.H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature, Rome, 1949, p.86;

6: cf. Lev. 26:42,45; Ez.16:60; Ex.2:24; Ps.106:45; 105:8;

7: cf. Judges 2:1; Lev.26:44; Jer.14:21; 33:21;

8: cf. Deut. 7:9,12; 1 Kings 8:23; Neh.1:5; Dan.9:4;

c) Genesis 17

The account of the P theologian in Genesis 17 is evidence of a further development of the patriarchal covenant idea in exilic Judaism¹. In this account, special stress has been placed on the immutable nature of the covenant through the irrevocable self-commitment of God. It is an "everlasting covenant", established (וְעוֹלָם) by God Himself². The contents of the covenant promise is not only posterity (vs.2,6) and land-possession (vs.8), but also a "special kind of relationship to God"³: He will be their God (vs.8). This relationship is expressed through circumcision, the "sign of the covenant" (vs.11), symbolic of Israel's unique partnership with God, to the exclusion of other nations (vs.14)⁴. According to P, the patriarchal covenant is founded upon a relationship of perpetual intimacy between God and Abraham's descendants.

In the theology of the priestly writer, the patriarchal covenant has been raised to a position of unrivalled supremacy. All other events in the life of Abraham, which are irrelevant to this

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- 1: G.von Rad, "Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch", GSAT, p.25, admits P origin, except for vs.2-5; J.Hoftyzer, Op.cit., p.26 accepts the unity of chapter 17 and its P authorship.
 - 2: cf. vs.8; The hiphil וְעוֹלָם from the root וָעָלַם is characteristic of P. The emphasis is on the perpetual validity of the covenant. A good translation is thus, "to maintain" the covenant. cf. A.Jaubert, La Notion d'Alliance dans le Judaïsme aux abords de l'ère chrétienne, Paris, 1963, p.28;
 - 3: cf. G.von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.169;
 - 4: cf. F.Sierksma, "Quelques remarques sur la Circoncision en Israël", OTS 9 (1951), p.159f; This is also evident in the LXX rendition of Gen.17:1, where יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים, "almighty God" has been rendered ὁ Θεός σου "Thy God". cf. Gen.28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; cf. E.Naville, "Le Chapitre XVIIIème de la Genèse", ZAW 44 (1926), pp.134-145; (cf.p.138).

covenant theme, have been reduced to a minimum¹. This centrality of the patriarchal covenant is also evident in P's treatment of the Sinai covenant in the book of Exodus. Israel appears before Mount Sinai (19:1-2a) and Moses ascends (24:15-18a) to receive details for the order of the "tent of meeting" (ch.25-31). The only law is the sabbath law, given as a "sign" between Yahweh and Israel (31:12-17). A brief reference occurs to the two tablets (31:18a) which, in contrast with chapter 24, places no special claim on Israel's allegiance. Hence, all the traditional elements of the covenant formulation have been clearly suppressed. What then are the motives for this intentional reduction of the Sinai covenant?²

According to P, the Sinai covenant is the concrete fulfillment of the patriarchal covenant promise. This promise was the relationship of intimacy between Yahweh and Israel. For P the centre of the Sinai covenant is the erection of the "tent of meeting" in which Yahweh will dwell among His people (ch.25-31). It is not coincidental that the phrase "I will be their God", expressing this relationship, recurs in Exodus 6:7. The tablets of the law have become the "tablets of testimony"³, symbolic of Yahweh's "presence". The sabbath law is now

1: Cf. Gen.12:4b-5; 13:6,11b-12; 16:1,3,15f. Cf. W.Zimmerli, "Abrahambund und Sinaibund", TZ 16, (1960), pp.268-284.

2: G.von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.135, simply suggests that these elements were eliminated from P's account when it became conjoined with JE material, thus rendering them superfluous. This view minimizes the distinct theological intentions of P. The Sinai covenant and the Abraham covenant have become inseparably linked: Yahweh reveals Himself (Ex.6:2; Gen.17:1) and gives His law as a "sign" of His union with Israel (Ex.31:17; Gen.9:13; 17:11).

3: Prof.Porteous has pointed out the complex nature of the etymology of the word ^{דבר} *divy*, variably used as "teaching" (Ps.119:31,36), "warning" (2 Kings 17:15). In some cases, it is given to the king at his coronation (2 Kings 11:12; 2 Chron.23:11).

the "sign" of the covenant, the symbol of Yahweh's unique relationship with His people. Hence, for P, the Sinai covenant is no longer the supreme event in Israel's history, established through the giving of the law and the response of Israel's allegiance to that law. Rather, it is the fulfillment of that special relationship promised in the patriarchal covenant: "I will be their God".

The P theologian sees the patriarchal covenant and the Sinai covenant in a clear relationship of promise and fulfillment.¹ In times of crisis, it is to this promise that he turns. In Lev.26:45, Yahweh says that He will remember "the covenant of the forefathers", which is the Sinai covenant: "Whom I brought forth out of Egypt". In vs.42, however, the covenant with Yahweh, which He will not break, is clearly the patriarchal covenant:

"Then will I remember the covenant with Jacob,
and I will remember my covenant with Isaac and
my covenant with Abraham".

In times of crisis, as surely the exile must have seemed, Israel reconfirms her faith in Yahweh's covenant faithfulness and looks beyond the Sinai event to that supreme event when He established His covenant of promise with the patriarchs. Towering above the Sinai covenant stands the supreme covenant with the patriarchs, "established" through Yahweh's election, a perpetual reminder to succeeding generations of His willingness to dwell in the midst of His people, expressive of His unfailing faithfulness in times of crisis and need.

1: cf. W.Zimmerli, Op.cit., TZ 16 (1960), p.275: "Nach dem Aufriss des P rückt das Geschehen der Mosezeit nach seiner Bundesqualität eindeutig in das Licht einer Erfüllung des mit den Vätern geschlossenen ברית".

3. The Patriarchal Covenant in the Qumran Texts

a) The Divine Commitment

Our study of the root רצח has shown that the Qumran community interpreted its election as a manifestation and re-expression of God's commitment to the promises of the past. According to the Priestly writer of the Pentateuch, this divine commitment is anchored in the promise given to the patriarchs in a solemn covenant ceremony. A similar relationship between God's previous commitment and the patriarchal covenant is evident in the Qumran texts, particularly in CD and 1QM.

1) CD: The most frequent allusions to a "covenant of the forefathers" occur in CD.

"But remembering (רצח) the covenant of the forefathers, He left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed"¹.

"But God remembered (רצח) the covenant with the forefathers (ד'רצח), and He raised from Aaron men of discernment"².

Both passages clearly echo the words of Leviticus 26:45. In the latter, the ד'רצח are the desert generation of the Exodus. It appears from another context in CD that the expositor was influenced primarily by the reference to the covenant with the patriarchs of Leviticus 26:42.

1: CD I:4-5a; Translation by G. Vermes;

2: CD VI:2; Translation by G. Vermes;

"...because He loved Thy Fathers and because He kept the oath, so is it with the converts of Israel (who) have departed from the way of the people; because of God's love for the first who testified in His favour, He loves those who have followed after, for theirs is the covenant of the fathers"¹.

The first part of this quotation is based on Deut.7:8a:

"It is because the Lord loves you and is keeping oath which He swore to your fathers (אבותיך)".

The writer of CD has replaced the pronoun "you" of the MT with the words "thy fathers", thus avoiding the possible inference that the community covenant has been renewed by virtue of God's love for the Exodus generation.² He further avoids the possibility of misunderstanding by stating that it is because of God's love for the patriarchs, the אבותיך, that the covenant has been restored³.

The supreme covenant, towering above all others, is the covenant of promise concluded with the patriarchs: "The covenant of the forefathers", or, "the covenant of the fathers". It is by virtue of God's commitment to this covenant promise that election to the covenant of the community is made possible⁴.

ii) 1QM: In 1QM, the concept of election is expressed in a conventional and classical fashion. The words of 1QH XIII:11b-12a

1: CD VIII:15-18a; XIX:30-31;

2: According to the community, the Exodus generation has sinned and is under the sign of the curse, rejection from the covenant. cf. CD III:8f;

3: The אבותיך do not apply to the first disciples of the Teacher of Righteousness as A. Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.136 (n.3) suggests. "The first" who testified in his favour, are the faithful patriarchs. cf. CD III:2f; cf. C. Rabin, Op.cit., p.35 (n.17¹);

4: All the patriarchs are mentioned by name. Abraham: CD III:2; XII:11; XVI:6; Isaac: CD III:3; Jacob: CD III:3,4; IV:15; VII:19; XX:17;

form no part of this writer's concept of election:

1QH XIII:11b-12a:

"By creating things that are new, by setting aside the former covenants".

1QM XVIII:7:

"Thou hast kept for us Thy covenant from former times".

The words "from former times" strike a note already made familiar through CD. It is one which continues to dominate the writer's election concept with distinct clarity:

"O God of our fathers, we will bless Thy name for ever. And we, we are an ever(last)ing people, and Thou madest a covenant with our fathers and hast established it with their seed for everlasting a(g)es"¹.

"Blessed be the God of Israel who keeps favour unto His covenant...O God of favours who hast kept the covenant with our fathers"².

Here, election is again understood as the concrete and active manifestation of God's faithfulness to the patriarchal covenant: He is the "God of the fathers" (XIII:7,9), the "God of favours" ($\Delta' \tau \delta \eta \Sigma \chi$ XIV:8), who has continued to bestow His "grace" ($\eta' \tau \delta \eta$ XIV:4) upon the "saints of the covenant" (X:10), the "sons of His covenant" (XVII:8).

b) The Elect Remnant

i) 4QDibHam: 4QDibHam, or, "the Words of the Heavenly lights", is a liturgical composition, consisting of several prayers intended for

1: 1QM XIII:7-8;

2: 1QM XIV:4,8;

use ^{on} ~~at~~ each day of the week¹. One of these prayers, in particular, is interesting:

"Thou didst not reject the seed of Jacob neither didst Thou cast away Israel to destruction, breaking Thy covenant with them. For Thou alone art a living God and there is none beside Thee. And Thou hast remembered Thy covenant"².

As in CD, the dependence of this passage upon Lev. 26:44-45 is obvious³.

There are two crucial points which require further examination:

Lev. 26:44: אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָשַׁח אֶת כְּלֵמֶת בְּרִית אֲבֹתָיו

4QDibHam V:6: אֱלֹהִים לֹא יָשַׁח אֶת כְּלֵמֶת בְּרִית אֲבֹתָיו וְיִשְׁרָאֵל בְּרִית אֲבֹתָיו

The writer has substituted the suffixes of the MT with the proper names "seed of Jacob" and "Israel", the latter being placed in distinct parallel to the other: God has not rejected "the seed of Jacob" nor cast away "Israel". Elsewhere, the expositor's intentions are voiced in a more positive form:

"Thou who didst pardon our fathers when they rebelled against Thy word. Thou wert angry with them so as to wish to destroy them, but because of Thy love for them and for the sake of Thy covenant, for Moses had atoned for their sin... Thou didst take pity on them. So let thine anger and wrath against all (their) sin turn away from Thy people Israel"⁴.

There is a clear solidarity between the "fathers", the generation under Moses, and the "people Israel". This solidarity in election has been extended to include solidarity in sin and judgment:

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- 1: cf. M.Baillet, Op.cit., RB 68 (1961), p.247; G.Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p.202;
2: 4QDibHam V:6-9;
3: cf. page 126;
4: 4QDibHam II:2-9;

"Because Thou hast chosen us (from all) the earth (to be Thy people), therefore, hast Thou poured Thine anger (and jealousy) upon us together with all the fury of the Lord"¹.

The contrast of this passage with another, such as 1Q34bis, II:3-8, is striking. Whereas in 1Q34bis election of the "righteous" involves automatically the rejection of the faithless generations of the past, no such implications are conveyed in 4QDibHam. In fact, in 4QDibHam VI:5, the writer identifies his own sins with those of "the fathers", the faithless people of the old dispensation under Moses.

In the thought of this expositor, there is complete solidarity in sin, judgment and election between "the seed of Jacob", or, "the fathers", and "Israel". It is interesting to contrast this impartiality of 4QDibHam with the sectarianism of CD:

"The sons of Jacob strayed because of this and were punished....Because of this the first to enter the covenant (were rendered guilty) and were delivered up to the sword....But because of those who clung to the commandments of God.. God established His covenant with Israel for ever"².

Whereas in CD the name "Israel" conveys the uniqueness of the election of the community and the idea of its isolation in relation to "the sons of Jacob", in 4QDibHam, it has no such sectarian connotations and is, indeed, identified with "the seed of Jacob".

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- 1: 4QDibHam III:8-9; The biblical background is Amos 3:2: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you".
2: CD III:4,10,12,13;

ii) The phrase $\text{הַיְּהוּדִים בְּרִי שְׂרָאָה}$ is directly dependent on Lev.26:45. Significantly, the qualifying phrase דִּבְרֵי אֲבוֹתָם , "of the forefathers", has been omitted. In fact, in 4QDibHam II:3, it is Moses, and not the "forefathers", who is the mediator of atonement and election. The question arises: "Why has the expositor suppressed this reference to the patriarchs?".

One can hardly escape the conclusion that the expressed solidarity of "the seed of Jacob" with "Israel", the absence of any sectarian partiality and the suppression of the patriarchs is not coincidental.

On the basis of palaeographical evidence, the editor of 4QDibHam has attributed the origin of the text to the beginning of the second century B.C.¹ This means that it belonged to an early, pre-Essene literary stage, possibly the Maccabean era, and was part of a common heritage of pre-sectarian Judaism². The non-sectarian nature of this text can thus be attributed to its early, pre-Essene composition³.

In the light of these considerations, it appears highly probable that the suppression of any reference to the patriarchal

1: cf. M.Baillet, Op.cit., R.B. 68 (1961), p.250;

2: Note the reference to the election of the Jerusalem temple in IV:1;

3: It is undoubtedly true that the community did not spring into being as a clearly crystallized entity, but that it developed over a long period toward a more highly developed sectarian structure. Hence, the student of these texts is confronted not with clearly defined schemes of doctrine, wholly consistent in all their component parts, but with a development of these doctrines. It is a development which moved from neutral, liberal and national thoughtforms to biassed, ultra-conservative and highly sectarian ones.

covenant is, in fact, a conscious reaction against a prevailing trend of the time, which was beginning to gain ever-increasing momentum. This trend was to identify the prerogatives of the patriarchal covenant with the sectarian claims and interests of a particular community within the main body of Judaism¹. Particularly in post-biblical Judaism, the name "Israel" came to represent, no longer the entire nation, but a "righteous remnant" as the rightful recipient of the patriarchal covenant promise. To the writer of 4QDibHam, still writing in pre-sectarian days, such reasoning was both repugnant and contrary to the best interests of a

1: Already in the Old Testament, the Abraham covenant has certain restrictive implications. Its eternal efficacy (Gen.17:7) is conditioned by the need for circumcision (Gen.17:12), for the uncircumcised will be eliminated (Gen.17:14). Circumcision is the "sign of the covenant" (Gen.17:11), the symbol of Israel's peculiar partnership to the covenant. cf. P.v.Imschoot, "L'Alliance dans l'Ancien Testament", NRT74 (1952), p.801; Consequently, the idea of merit, even apart from circumcision, came to be linked to this covenant (Gen.26:5). In prophetic literature this idea was narrowed down so that "Israel" came to represent the "righteous remnant" within Israel, "the offspring of Abraham" (Is.51:2; 65:8), "the elect" (Ps.105:5). It is also not uncommon to find that the priesthood within the nation understood the patriarchal covenant to be the prototype of its own covenant with Levi (Nu.25:12-13; Mal.2:4, 5,10;). In post-biblical Judaism, the confinement of the covenant to a sectarian circle became even more accentuated. The Book of Jubilees, the product of a sacerdotal sect (cf. A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.91; M. Testuz, Op.cit., p.129) speaks of circumcision as the "sign" of the "sons of the covenant" (Jub.15:26) and applied the name "Israel" to its own particular community (2:19,20,31). A similar sectarianism, linked to the patriarchal covenant is evident in rabbinic circles, (cf. S.B.Hoenig, "Circumcision: The Covenant of Abraham", JQR 53, (1963), pp.322-335), and also in other post-biblical texts: cf. Ps. of Solomon 17:42,48,49 and 9:16-19; Ass.Mos. 1:17; 5:2,4; and 3:9; 4:2,5; 11:17; Enoch 1:18; 93:10 and 60:6; Test.Benj. 3:8; Test.Rub. 4:10; Test.Levi 16:2 and Test.Rub. 4:10; Test.Jud 19:3; Test.Jos. 1:4; In each case, the text refers to a sectarian group (Enoch 1:1,8; 95:3; Ass.Mos. 17:18-20) which regards itself to be the true nucleus of spiritual integrity and thus claims full inheritance of the covenant promises. The latter, originally applicable to all Israel, have now become the special prerogative of an "Israel" within "Israel".

nation seeking unity and freedom from oppression.

ii) CD - 1QM: The texts CD and 1QM show how the promises of the patriarchal covenant finally became wholly identified with the claims of the "remnant". When God "remembered the covenant of the forefathers", "He left a remnant to Israel"¹. According to 1QM, the community constitutes the "remnant" and "survivors of the covenant", and, as such, represents in miniature the historical counterpart of the ancient covenant community:

"Thou madest a covenant with our fathers....
a reminder of Thy grace is in the midst of us
in all Thy glorious testimonies, to succour
the remnant and the survivors of the covenant"².

"And we, the rem(nant of Thy people shall
praise) Thy name of God of favours who has kept
the covenant with our fathers..."³.

In these references to the patriarchal covenant, the emphasis is constantly on the continuity of grace and upon the continuity of the covenant community: God's covenant with the forefathers is a "reminder of grace" (1QM XIII:8). God is the "God of the fathers" (1QM XIII:7,9), the "God of favours" (1QM XIV:8), who has continued to bestow His "grace" (יְסֻד 1QM XIV:4). This "grace" finds expression within the "remnant", the historical counterpart of the ancient covenant people:

1: CD I:4;

2: 1QM XIII:7,8;

3: 1QM XIV:8;

God is the "God of Israel"¹ and the remnant consists of the "tribes of Israel", or, the "people of Israel"², whom God has chosen for Himself from "all the peoples of the lands"³. They have been chosen to the covenant which is the "covenant of Israel"⁴. The latter, originally applicable to the entire nation, has now become the special property of an "Israel" within Israel.

Hence, God pardons (1QM XVIII:8), succours (XIII:8), saves and redeems (XIV:4) the "remnant and survivors of the covenant" (XIII:8), the "new Israel", upon whom He has focussed all the claims and rights of the "covenant of the forefathers". It is divine initiative operative among a "select elect", the "elect remnant", by virtue of God's faithfulness to the patriarchs and their covenant.

c) The Righteous Remnant

i) 1Q34bis, II:3-8.

"But the seed of man has not heeded all that Thou hast given him in heritage and they have not known Thee (when)ever Thou hast spoken, and they have done wickedly in all things and they have not heeded Thy very great power. Therefore, Thou hast rejected them, for Thou lovest not per(versity) and the wicked cannot live in Thy presence. But Thou hast chosen for Thyself a people in the time of Thy good

1: 1QM VI:6; XIII:2,13; XV:13; XVI:1; etc.;
2: 1QM II:7; III:14; V:1; X:9;
3: 1QM X:9;
4: 1QM XVII:7;

will for Thou hast remembered Thy covenant. And Thou hast (appointed) them to be set apart from all the peoples as a holy thing for Thyself, and Thou hast renewed Thy covenant (founded) on a vision of glory and words of Thy holy spirit upon the works of Thy hands and the writing of Thy right hand, causing them to know the glorious teachings".

The reference to the renewal of the covenant in line 6 suggests that we are dealing with a liturgical prayer, intended for use at the periodic renewal of the covenant on the Feast of Weeks¹.

An explicit relationship between "remembrance" (רָמַח), "election" (בְּחֵרָה) and "renewal" (שִׁנּוּן) is noticeable. God's remembrance of His previous commitments to the patriarchal covenant and His renewal of the covenant of the community are essential aspects of the election concept. However, this election as "remembrance" is not free or unlimited, but is bound and restricted by certain conditions.

Lines 3-5a give a detailed account of the sins of the faithless and their destiny. Line 3 states: "But the seed of man has not heeded all that Thou hast given him in heritage". Whereas in 1QH DTX generally refers to the phenomenon "man" in a broad and universal sense, this does not appear to be the case here². In Test.Naphtali 8:3-10:2, we

1: cf. G.Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p.205; A.Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings, p.335;

2: In 1QH, DTX represents "man" as the creature of the earth (X:3), uncommitted and unreconciled "man" (IV:32,33; VI:11). He belongs to the society of the "sons of man" who perform "service of iniquity" and "works of deceit", the "wicked" who shall undergo judgment. (II:24,25). The "sons of man" are contrasted with the "sons of grace" the "elect of man" (cf. 1QS XI:16). Whereas the former belong to a "covenant of man", the latter belong to the "covenant of God" (XVII:27). In a similar fashion, the "seed of man" is distinguishable from the "seed of Israel", the community (CD XII:22).

are told that, in the time of Peleg and Abraham, God sent a message to all the families of the earth and demanded their allegiance. With the sole exception of Abraham, all refused to choose Him who created the heavens and the earth. From that time, God dispersed the nations¹. A similar elevation of the figure of Abraham is evident in CD III:2f. Abraham was raised as a "friend of God because he kept the commandments of God". Succeeding generations, the "sons of Jacob" and "their sons (who) walked in Egypt", failed to prove their allegiance and forsook the "covenant of God", with the result that they "were delivered up to the sword"². In the light of this striking resemblance with the Testament of Naphtali, the expression "seed of man" can be understood to refer to the seed of the fathers³, the generations after the Abraham covenant. This interpretation is confirmed by the accusation which is voiced in line 3: "The seed of man has not heeded all that Thou hast given him in heritage". According to the community, God has made a "covenant with the fathers" and established it "with their seed"⁴. The precise accusation is that the "seed of man", or, "the seed of the fathers" has not believed in the promise of the patriarchal covenant, "all that God has given them to inherit".⁵

In lines 5b-8, we are told that God has "chosen" the community, "remembered" His covenant and "renewed" it. This covenant is now based

1: cf. A. Jaubert, *Op.cit.*, p.217;

2: CD III:4-5; 10-11;

3: 1QM XIII:7;

4: 1QM XIII:7;

5: Note the relationship between "seed of man" and eschatological inheritance in 4QpPs37, II:2;

on the "vision of glory" (line 6), the "writings of His right hand", and the "glorious teachings" (line 7). All these are obvious allusions to the Sinai covenant¹. In the Book of Jubilees, the Sinai covenant and the giving of the law are linked to the Abraham covenant as its fulfillment². The same is true here, but with a distinct variation. The theme of this text, considered in its entirety, is not the giving of the law, but the realities of rejection (lines 1-5) and election (lines 5-7)³. The basis of this rejection from the covenant is the refusal of the people of Israel, the descendants of the patriarchal covenant, to respond to the promises it is destined to inherit. The fact that God has elected the Qumran community, by remembering the patriarchal covenant, implies that this election took place precisely because God did find a covenant people who have already responded. Whereas in the Book of Jubilees the giving of the law itself constitutes the fulfillment of the patriarchal covenant promise, here it is only the already-cultivated climate of a faithful people which makes its fulfillment possible. The idea of "merit" comes here quite distinctly to the foreground.

1: The "vision of glory" refers to the theophanic vision of God on Mount Sinai (Ex.24:16f); The "writing of Thy right hand" is reminiscent of the tables of the law written by God (Ex.32:16); The "glorious teachings" refer to the decalogue (Ex.20:1-8);

2: cf. M. Testuz, Op.cit., pp.63-65;

3: A similar theme is to be noted in the covenant renewal of 1QS, where the curse and the blessing formulations constitute the most prominent part of the renewal ceremony.

ii) CD

The importance of the patriarchs in the thought of this writer comes to the foreground in CD III:2f.

"Abraham did not walk in this and was rai(sed to be a Fr)riend of God because he kept the commandments of God and did not choose the will of his own spirit. And he handed them down to Isaac and Jacob who kept them and were inscribed as Friends of God and party to the covenant for ever. The sons of Jacob strayed..."¹.

Abraham's friendship with God is maintained by virtue of his obedience. This obedience is expressed as a disposition of faith or reliance: "He kept the commandments of God and did not choose the will of his own spirit" (lines 2-3a). Elsewhere, this obedience is reached through the acquisition of "knowledge"². It is "knowledge of the necessity of circumcision as a covenant prescription"³. Abraham's fulfillment of this law is expressive of his faith-relationship toward God: "The angel of hostility (Mastema) will depart from him" (CD XVI:5). In doing the law, Abraham expressed his full reliance upon God⁴. This patriarchal relationship toward God is sharply contrasted with the succeeding generations who "abandoned the covenant of God" (III:11) and "chose the will of their own spirit" (line 8).

1: CD III:2-4;

2: CD XVI:5;

3: cf. R.F.Collins, "The Berith-Notion of the Cairo Damascus Covenant and its comparison with the New Testament", ETL 39 (1963), p.557f;

4: "Mastema" is the power of evil which leads astray and makes complete reliance upon God impossible. cf. IQS III:21f; F.Nötscher, Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran, Bonn, 1958, p.93; cf. H.W.Huppenbauer, Op.cit., p.62; A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.98 (n.28);

For the writer of CD, the patriarchal covenant originated in God's love for the patriarchs¹, has been established by oath², and is undeserved³. Nevertheless, the idea of merit is never completely divorced from God's elective work. It can become effective only in a suitable climate of response and faith. The patriarchal covenant represents the prototype of the perfect covenant relationship, in which the tension between divine grace and human response is kept in perfect balance.⁴ According to CD, this balance constitutes its

1: CD III:2; VIII:15;

2: CD VIII:15; XIX:26;

3: CD VIII:14f;

4: The description of the merits and virtues of the patriarchs in CD III:2f., bears a remarkable resemblance to that in Jubilees: (i) Abraham kept the commandments of God (lines 2-3; Jub.24:11); (ii) He did not choose the desire of his own will (lines 2-3; Jub.12:21); (iii) He was written down as a "friend of God" (line 2; Jub.17:18; 19:19); (iv) He handed the commandments down to Isaac and to Jacob (line 3; Jub.20:1-10; 21:5-20; 22:20,25); On the basis of these similarities, R.F.Collins, *Op.cit.*, ETL 39, (1963), p.560, suggests that "CD bears witness to the existence of traditions relative to the patriarchal covenant which are non-pentateuchal, but which existed in apocalyptic circles". The view of an independent apocalyptic tradition presents various problems: (i) While Jubilees displays apocalyptic influence, it is not exclusively and distinctly the product of such a circle. cf. A. Jaubert, *Op.cit.*, p.91; M.Testuz, *Op.cit.*, p.11; cf. Jub. 30:18f. which suggests priestly influence. (ii) The doctrine of Abraham's friendship with God is common to Old Testament as well as to New Testament and rabbinic theology. cf. Is.41:8; James 2:23; TBMen 19:3; (iii) A veneration of patriarchal figures is evident in most inter-testamental writing. cf. 1 Macc.2:50; Test.Rub. 4:10; Test. Sim.2:8; Test.Jud.19:3; Test.Jos.1:4; etc.; (iv) Some of the similarities suggested by Collins are present in CD in an implied form and display no direct dependence. i.e. Abraham, the recipient of the covenant promise. cf. Jub.14:20; 15:49; and his circumcision, cf. Jub.15:32; CD XVI:6; The veneration of the patriarchs and their covenant in CD grew out of the common religious climate of late Judaism in which this covenant had gained a position of pre-eminence and priority. This was the case, particularly, among the sectarian circles. cf. pages 129-132;

eternal efficacy. The patriarchs were recorded as "friends of God and party to the covenant for ever" (line 4). This also constitutes the hope for its renewal in the Qumran community:

"But because of those who clung to the commandments of God (and) survived them as a remnant, God established His covenant with Israel for ever"¹.

"So is it with the converts of Israel (who) have departed from the way of the people... He loves those who have followed after, for theirs is the covenant of the fathers"².

Those who "clung to the commandments of God", who "departed from the way of the people", have become heirs to the promises of the patriarchal covenant. Just as the patriarchs obeyed and became party to the covenant for ever, so too, the obedient response of the "righteous remnant" carries within itself the seeds of an everlasting fellowship with God.

d) Promise, Response and Fulfillment

i) 1QS

In contrast with CD, there are no direct references to a "covenant of the forefathers" in 1QS. In addition, the root רצ is completely absent. Only in one isolated case, the writer expresses his solidarity with the forefathers:

"And just is God who has fulfilled His judgment against us and against our fathers"³.

1: CD III:12-13;

2: CD VIII:16,17,18a; cf. CD XIX:31;

3: 1QS I:26;

"The fathers", in this case, are the immediate, preceding generations, not necessarily the patriarchs¹. The writer of this text is not primarily concerned with a historical justification of election, nor does he speak of it as a result of God's attachment to a past commitment. His main interests lie in the present as the time for re-commitment to the obligations of the covenant of the community²:

(i) It is only by means of commitment in the present that the "everlasting covenant" and its blessings will become reality in the fulfillment of time³. The question, whether this covenant is to be understood as the fulfillment of the "everlasting covenant" promised to the patriarchs, cannot be easily nor satisfactorily answered. Some light may be thrown on the problem by reference to the curse which is pronounced over the "men of the lot of Belial"⁴:

"May there be for thee no (word) of peace on the lips of all who cling (to the covenant) of the fathers"⁵.

The expression אבות, "fathers", could be a direct reference to the אבותינו ברית, "covenant of the fathers" of Mal.2:10. In CD VIII:17, it occurs in the form אבותינו ברית to refer to the patriarchal covenant. Again, the word "peace" (שלום) echoes Mal.2:5, "the covenant of life and peace", which in 1QM XII:3 and XIII:13 is used to

1: This appears confirmed in the reference to judgment.

2: 1QS II:25f; V:8; etc.;

3: 1QS III:11-12; V:5-6;

4: 1QS II:5

5: 1QS II:9

refer to the eschatological "everlasting covenant"¹. It appears, then, that the entire curse in 1QS II:9 is dependent upon Mal.2:5,10. The latter has been interpreted to refer to the eschatological blessings of the patriarchal covenant: "Peace" (1QS II:9) is the "covenant of peace" (Mal.2:5; 1QM XII:3), which is the eschatological fulfillment of the "covenant of the fathers" (1QS II:9; CD VIII:17; Mal.2:10)². The implications of the curse are clear. The cursed "men of the lot of Belial" shall not enjoy the eschatological blessings of the patriarchal covenant, which is "peace", as long as they continue to rebel against the requirements of the covenant. A similar idea is expressed elsewhere:

"Cursed be he when he passes, together with the idols of his heart, who enters into this covenant leaving before him whatever causes him to fall into iniquity and to turn away (from God). Behold, as he listens to the words of this covenant, he blesses himself in his heart, saying: 'May peace be with me when I walk in the stubbornness of my heart'"³

The above interpretation gains in appeal when we consider the destiny that awaits the righteous:

"Great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness together with every everlasting blessing"⁴.

The expression "fruitfulness", literally, "to bear seed", echoes the covenant promise given to Abraham in Gen.17:2.

"I will make my covenant between me and you and will multiply you exceedingly".

1: cf. 1QM XVII:7; Ez.37:26; Is.54:10;

2: Abraham is promised "peace"; cf. Jub.12:29; Gen.15:15; Pesikta Zotarta 3:2; The dependence upon Mal.2:5-10 has been generally recognized, cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.78; A.S.v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.228;

3: 1QS II:11b-13a;

4: 1QS IV:7; Translation by G.Vermes;

This promise is now fulfilled in the community.

"In order to leave survivors upon the earth and to fill the face of the world with their posterity!"¹

In 1QM XIII:7, this same promise has been linked to the eschatological covenant.

"Thou madest a covenant with our fathers and hast established it with their seed for everlasting ages"²

There is some justification for believing that in 1QS the blessings of the everlasting covenant, "peace", "fruitfulness" and "posterity", are understood as the fulfillment of the covenant promises to the patriarchs.

(ii) Again, it is by means of commitment in the present that the community is permitted to enter the ברית חסד , the "covenant of grace"

"To practise truth and righteousness and justice on earth and to walk no more in the stubbornness of a guilty heart...to cause all the volunteers to enter who wish to practise the precept of God in the covenant of grace"³.

It is again difficult to establish whether this covenant is, in any way, linked to the patriarchal covenant. It appears in the midst of a legalistic passage, which leaves its exact meaning obscure. The evidence from other texts, however, can throw some light on this.

1: CD II:12;

2: cf. M. Testuz, "Deux Fragments inédits des manuscrits de la Mer Morte", Sem. 5 (1955), p. 38, has published a text which reads:

"Your seed ($\gamma\gamma\tau$) and all the righteous will survive".

3: 1QS I:5a-8a;

The conventional translation of $\tau\delta\eta$ is "covenant love", referring to the divine initiative of "grace"¹. It appears to be used in a similar sense in the Qumran texts². God's "grace" is manifested in historical action: the deeds of God and His mighty works³. Furthermore, it is eternally effective⁴ within a "covenant of peace"⁵.

It appears likely that the $\tau\delta\eta$ ברית of 1QS I:8 is dependent upon the $\tau\delta\eta$ והברית of Deut.7:9. A complete quotation of the latter appears in CD XIX:1, and occurs in 1QM XIV:4,8, in a slightly modified form. It is interesting to observe and compare these passages:

Deut.7:9 : $\tau\delta\eta$ והברית שם הנאמן האל
1QM XIV:4 : $\tau\delta\eta$ והברית שם ישראל האל
1QM XIV:8 : $\tau\delta\eta$ והברית שם האלם האל

In each case, it is the word $\tau\delta\eta$ which qualifies God's activity with regard to the covenant: He remains faithful "unto His covenant", which is the "covenant of the fathers", or the patriarchal covenant.

Although one cannot deduce too much from its single occurrence in 1QS I:8, it is quite possible that the use of $\tau\delta\eta$ ברית there

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- 1: cf. N.H.Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, London, 1945, p.95; J.Bright, The Kingdom of God, p.28;
 - 2: In 1QS, $\tau\delta\eta$ occurs five times in the form $\tau\delta\eta$ והברית in a purely social sense. cf. II:24; V:4,25; VIII:2; X:26; In nine cases, it refers to divine "grace". cf. I:22; II:14; IV:4,5; X:4,16; XI:12;
 - 3: 1QS II:1; X:4; I:22; IV:5;
 - 4: 1QS II:1; X:4; XI:12;
 - 5: 1QS II:4; 1QM XII:3;

is influenced and conditioned by its use in the other texts. Initiated by divine "grace" and operative within the events of the community by virtue of God's faithfulness to His promises to the patriarchs, it reaches its fulfillment in a covenant of peace, the eschatological "everlasting covenant".

In the light of other texts, there appear to be vague traces of allusions to a patriarchal covenant in 1QS. However, here it is understood not so much as a past attachment on the part of God as a future destiny to be achieved by the community through re-commitment in the present to the obligations of the covenant¹. A greater emphasis on the idea of election by merit is noticeable. As in CD, it still originates in God's grace and is undeserved². But this "grace" requires obedient response within the community in order to reach its fullest culmination in the blessings of the "everlasting covenant. Hence, the act of election itself is more closely associated with the present situation as the preparatory stage before its fulfillment in an everlasting covenant. It is only "the just" who shall "comprehend the knowledge of the most high", and the "perfect of way" who shall possess the "wisdom of the sons of heaven", "for God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant"³.

1: A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.131: "C'est moins ici de s'appuyer sur une filiation à l'égard des pères que sur l'engagement actuel dans l'alliance proposée par Dieu".

2: 1QS I:25-II:1;

3: 1QS IV:22-23;

4. Summary

Our brief study of the patriarchal covenant in the Old Testament has shown how the promise given to the patriarchs came to be linked to the theme of Yahweh's activity in redemptive events. In the writings of the priestly theologian, in particular, the patriarchal covenant came to represent the supreme covenant of promise, election and fulfillment.

This conception of covenant finds its extension in the writings of the Qumran community, where distinct references to a covenant with the "forefathers" or "fathers" were found (CD; 1QM).

A study of the text 4QDibHam has shown how the prerogatives of the patriarchal covenant were commonly identified with the claims of a particular sectarian movement within Judaism. CD and 1QM show how these prerogatives were likewise accepted by the Qumran community, the "elect remnant" of Israel. In these texts, the root $\gamma\delta\tau$, with God as subject, is often associated with the expression the "covenant of the forefathers" or the "covenant of the fathers". The Qumran community understood its own election to have originated in God's love for the patriarchs and to be a concrete manifestation of that love.

The inheritance of the covenant of election is not unlimited or unrestricted, but is conditional and provisional. God's elective love can become effective only in a favourable climate of response and obedience. Indeed, in most texts examined, the idea of merit and

responsibility is never completely divorced from God's elective activity. Hence, in 1Q34bis and CD, the patriarchal covenant is closely associated with the idea of the meritorious remnant.

Finally, our study of the text 1QS, where possible allusions to the patriarchal covenant occur, made it abundantly clear that election is not always an attachment of God to the past in terms pure and simple. Here, the writer is less concerned with the historical origin of election than with the responsibilities which this imposes upon the covenant community and the eschatological blessings which will result from obedient response.

Hence, while, in one sense, the patriarchal covenant was understood to be realized and effective in election, in another sense, its promises were projected into the future to constitute the basis for the eschatological expectations of the community. Consequently, a study of the doctrine of election in relation to the covenant is quite inseparable from the concepts of remnant and its role in eschatological history.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVERLASTING COVENANT

1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter we have seen how the concept of election in relation to the patriarchal covenant is intimately related to the apocalyptic doctrine of the fundamental unity of history. Election, originating in a promise, reaches a point of realization in the present and moves toward its ultimate fulfillment in salvation. For the remainder of this study we shall be primarily concerned with this conception of election as "fulfillment": the "everlasting covenant".

2. The Everlasting Covenant in the Old Testament

a) Résumé

Recent Old Testament scholarship has shown the presence of a close interdependence between the Hebrew covenant formulations and the Hittite vassal treaties¹. Such formulations remained fixed in the context of liturgical credos which were used at periodic covenant renewal ceremonies². Our analysis of P, however, is evidence of a tendency to break away from this traditional and contractual concept of covenant. Through gradual association with the Exodus motifs, the patriarchal

1: Cf. G.E.Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, Biblical Colloquium, 1955; "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition", BA 17, (1954), pp.50-76. H.H.Rowley, "Moses and the Decalogue", BJRL 34, (1951), pp.81-118; J.McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant: A Study in form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament, Analecta Biblica 21, Rome, 1964, chapters I-II.

2: Cf. J.Muilenburg, Op.cit., VT 9, (1959), p.347f.

covenant became more closely linked to the theme of Yahweh's activity in redemptive events. This process, begun by J and Deuteronomy, reached its completion in P, where the notion of covenant broke away entirely from the Sinai covenant and itself came to represent the supreme covenant of election, promise and salvation¹.

b) Exilic Prophecy

The concept of the supreme covenant of promise and salvation finds its closest parallel in the notion of the ברית עולם or "everlasting covenant". References to this covenant occur with striking frequency in the writings of the exilic prophets². Even when the patriarchal covenant is not specifically mentioned, these references are, nevertheless, expressed against the background of this covenant³.

The most fitting translation for ברית עולם is "perpetual covenant". It is a relationship in which acts of divine faithfulness succeed one another as a day follows the night⁴. Its sustaining force is Yahweh's חסד, or, "covenant love", the emphasis being on the dependability of this love and upon the immutability of the covenant.

1: A certain element of promise was an original feature of patriarchal religion. cf. A. Alt, "Der Gott der Väter", in, Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Vol. I, München, 1953, pp. 63-64; To a great extent, however, the promise was concerned with questions of immediate survival, i.e., posterity and land-possession. cf. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol. I, p. 133f;

2: cf. Is. 55:3; 61:8; Jer. 32:40; 50:5; Ez. 16:60; 37:26; 55:3;

3: According to P, the Abraham covenant is a ברית עולם. cf. Gen. 17:7, 13; In Is. 51:2 and Ez. 33:24, Abraham is the prototype of election.

4: Jer. 33:20-26;

As an expression of Yahweh's immutable faithfulness¹, the "everlasting covenant" lies, in a sense, beyond the influence of time or history. In Israel's past there existed many successive covenants, controlled by a contractual relationship of mutual rights and duties. Above it hung the impending threat of the curse, of covenant dissolution, only to be restored once again by a renewal of man's allegiance to the covenant and its law. The prophets of the exile, on the other hand, preached that beyond the vicissitudes of history and disobedience of man, God's eternal "love" or חַסֵּד will prevail². There are many historical covenants, broken and renewed. But Yahweh "establishes" or "maintains"³ one supreme covenant: "an everlasting covenant that shall not be forgotten"⁴.

In Ez.37:26-27 the "everlasting covenant" is identified with the "covenant of peace":

"I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and I will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people"

In Is.54:10 and Ez.34:25 the "covenant of peace" is understood to prevail over the upheavels of history through the sustaining influence

1: On the relationship חַסֵּד - חֶסֶד , cf. W.F.Lofthouse, "Chen and Chesed in the Old Testament", ZAW 51, (1933), pp.29-35; N.Glueck, Das Wort hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch, Giessen, 1927; p.13; N.H.Snaith, Op.cit., pp.100-130; J.Guillet, Op.cit., p.45; J. Bright, The Kingdom of God, p.28; A.R.Johnson, "Hesed and Hasid", FS Mowinckel, Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes Sig-mundo Mowinckel Septuagenario Missae, Oslo, 1955, pp.100-112; A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.58.

2: Cf. Is.54:8-10; 24:17f; Ps.46:3,5-6.

3: Ez.16:59,62.

4: Jer.50:5.

of Yahweh's faithfulness, to reach its fulfillment in a state of perfect harmony and well-being. In the quoted passage, the reason for the survival of the covenant is further clarified. The passage reflects the presence of a patriarchal covenant tradition, similar to the priestly of Gen.17: the covenant is "eternal" (vs.26; Gen.17:7); its blessings are land-possession (vs.26; Gen.17:8) and posterity (vs.26; Gen.17:2,6), and the presence of Yahweh among His people (vs.27; Gen.17:8). Equally striking, however, is Ezekiel's variation: the everlasting covenant is a "covenant of peace" (ברית שלום) and the phrase, "I will be their God" (Gen.17:8) has been extended to^{include} "and they ^{shall} ~~will~~ be my people" (vs.27). In the light of Near Eastern texts, the word ברית is to be understood as a contractual agreement, a relationship in which all the rights and duties of the covenant parties are held in perfect balance¹. The prophet, however, has removed this understanding of ברית from its contractual and historical context. The "covenant of peace", the state of harmony between Yahweh and His people, is not to be broken and renewed, but is effective for ever. Furthermore, it will no longer hinge on a tension of rights and duties, but on a fundamental relationship of intimacy: "my dwelling place shall be with them".

c) The New Covenant

"Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when

1: cf. F.Horst, "Recht und Religion im Bereich des Alten Testaments", EvT (1956), pp.67-68; M.Noth, Op.cit., GSAT, pp.148-149;

"I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke though I was their husband, says the Lord. But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God and they shall be my people"¹.

The question arises: "How is the concept of the new covenant to be reconciled with that of the supreme patriarchal-everlasting covenant?"

The new covenant stands in a relationship of continuity and tension to the Sinai covenant. It owes its origin to the initiative of Yahweh². He made a covenant with the fathers (vs.32) and will now make a covenant with their seed, the "house of Israel" (vs.33). There is, thus, a continuity in Yahweh's covenant activity and in the identity of the covenant people³. Equally distinct, however, is the tension which exists between these two covenants (vs.32,34)⁴. It is a contrast of stability and instability. The old covenant could be violated and dissolved (vs.32). The new covenant will be founded upon the inner conviction of the people: "I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts" (vs.33). What used to be repeated

1: Jer.31:31-34;

2: Note the frequent use of the pronoun "I" in the quoted passage.

3: cf. J.Jocz, "The connection between the Old and the New Testament", Jud.16 (1960), pp.142-144 (cf.p.144);

4: cf. R.Schreiber, Der Neue Bund im Spätjudentum und Urchristentum, Dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1954/55, has based his entire thesis on this tension between the new covenant and the Sinai covenant under Moses. (Available on microfilm in Edinburgh University Library).

year by year in the covenant renewal cult, will now be for ever effective through a transformation and newness of heart¹. The new covenant does not express a historical disruption with the old covenant. Rather, it expresses a newness of quality in the covenant relationship, which gives it permanence and stability.

Elsewhere the idea of "newness" of the covenant has been linked to the "everlasting covenant":

"And they shall be my people, and I will be their God. I will give them one heart and one way that they may fear me for ever...I will make with them an everlasting covenant..."².

The new covenant, like the everlasting covenant, is based on a newness of spirit, establishing a relationship of intimacy and harmony between Yahweh and His people: "They shall be my people, and I will be their God"³.

For the priestly theologian, the patriarchal covenant served as a reminder in a time of crisis of Yahweh's activity in the past. He was part of an exilic movement which had begun to reformulate the ancient principles of Israel's covenant faith. He found these in breaking away from the Sinai covenant and in a reaffirmation of and a returning to the patriarchal covenant: a "Rückschauenden Neubesinnung"⁴. Jeremiah,

1: A.Weiser, The Psalms, London, 1959, p.37,46, suggests that Jeremiah speaks in the context of a covenant renewal cult at Jerusalem.

2: Jer.32:38-40; The LXX rendition reads: a "new heart" and a "new way". J.Coppens, "La Nouvelle Alliance en Jér.31:31-34", CBQ 25 (1963), p.19 suggests that this passage has been influenced by the new covenant passage. cf. R.Martin-Achard, "La Nouvelle Alliance, selon Jérémie", RTP 12 (1962), p.81 (n.3);

3: cf. Jer.7:23; 11:4; 24:7; 30:22; 31:1; 32:38; Ez.37:26; etc.;

4: cf. W.Zimmerli, Op.cit., TZ 16 (1960), p.279;

speaking in a similar situation of crisis¹, also questions the validity of the Sinai covenant as sufficient to meet the needs of the crisis. But looking beyond the immediate moment of disaster, he sees the miracle of Yahweh's grace, transforming the hearts of His covenant people, establishing a relationship of harmony, through which the covenant will not again be violated or dissolved, but will prevail over the disasters of history and disobedience of man.

The question how this idea of the new covenant can be reconciled with that of the supreme patriarchal-everlasting covenant has thus been answered. The concepts of a new covenant and of an everlasting covenant are not exclusive or contradictory. Rather, the new covenant of Jeremiah is the everlasting covenant seen from its eschatological point of view². The new covenant will inaugurate the eschatological everlasting covenant or covenant of peace. Its newness will be in the fact that it rests on a relationship, not of external or legal pressure, but of a new disposition of man's heart, transformed and united in intimate fellowship with Yahweh, no longer violated to be renewed, but surviving for ever.

d) Covenant and Remnant

It has been suggested that Jeremiah's prophecy of the new covenant was a declaration to the exiles of the first deportation to

1: R.Martin-Achard, Op.cit., RTP 12 (1962), p.86, attributes the new covenant prophecy to the latter part of the prophet's life. circa 597

2: cf. A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.65;

(B.C.)

Babylon in 597 B.C.¹ This view is defensible in the light of a strikingly similar passage in Jer.24:5f:

"Like these good figs, so will I regard as good the exiles from Judah, whom I have sent away from this place to the land of the Chaldeans.... I will give them a heart to know the Lord; and they shall be my people and I will be their God, for they shall return to me with their whole heart". (vs.7).

Again, in Jer.32:37f., the exiles will be gathered "from all the lands" (vs.37), will become heirs to the new covenant (vs.38), based upon "a new heart and a new way"² (vs.39) which will be an everlasting covenant with them (vs.40)³. The same thought dominates the prophecies of Ezekiel:

"For I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land....A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you....and you shall be my people, and I will be your God"⁴.

Elsewhere, the prophet speaks of a rejuvenation of Israel through God's intervention, of her return to the homeland and living in the "knowledge of the Lord"⁵. Deut.Is., speaking to the fugitives in Babylon, says:

"Remember not the former things, nor consider the things of old. Behold, I am doing a new thing"⁶.

Hence, the prophets of the exile are unanimously agreed that the generation of the exile is to embody the continuity of Yahweh's grace, by which He will re-create them as the "new Israel" of the future in

1: cf. R.Martin-Achard, Op.cit., RTP 12 (1962), p.81;

2: cf. the LXX rendition

3: cf. Jer.50:1,5,8;

4: Ez.36:24,26,28;

5: cf. Ez.37:5,12,14; Compare vs.14 and Jer.24:5f;

6: Is.43:14,18-19; cf. Is.42:9. A.Bentzen, "On the Ideas of 'the Old' and 'the New' in Deutero-Isaiah", ST 1 (1947), pp.183-187 (cf.p.185).

an absolutely new act of redemption. Through an inner transformation, they will become the instruments of the new covenant in a relationship of harmony with Yahweh, which will endure in an everlasting covenant.

The question arises whether the term "remnant" can be justly applied to this exilic generation.

The term "remnant" is most often used for the residue of the people, the remnant left in Judah¹, those who remained behind after the deportations of 597 and 586 B.C., and upon whom God's judgment is destined to fall². In other cases, however, the "remnant" are clearly the exiles in Babylon. Thus the words of Jer.50:20, "for I will pardon those whom I leave as a remnant", refer to the exiles, who shall come and join themselves to the Lord in an "everlasting covenant which will never be forgotten" (vs.5), after the fall of Babylon (vs.2f). Jeremiah 29:4-12 speaks of the "promise" which will be fulfilled, (vs.10) the "future" and the "hope" which will be given "to all the exiles", (vs.4,11) who have been carried "into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon" (vs.4). Jeremiah 23:3, applies this hope to the "remnant".

"Then I will gather the remnant of my flock out of all the countries where I have driven them"³.

Again, Jer.31:7 speaks of the "remnant of Israel", which will be saved and will be brought from the "North Land". In Ez.11:13, the prophet cries:

1: cf. Jer.40:11,15

2: cf. Jer.6:9; 8:3; 15:9; 21:7; 40:11,15; 44:7; Ez.5:10; 6:12; 9:8; 11:13; etc.; cf. E.W.Heaton, "The Root נחל and the Doctrine of the Remnant", JTS 53 (1952), pp.27-39; R.de Vaux, "Le 'Reste d'Israël' d'après les prophètes", RB 42 (1933), p.534; G.A.Danell, Studies in the name Israel, Uppsala, 1946, p.237;

3: cf. Jer.32:37; Ez.36:24, where the same group is referred to as the recipient of the new covenant.

"Ah Lord God! wilt Thou make a full end of the remnant of Israel?".

Yahweh answers:

"Though I removed them far off among the nations... I will gather you from the peoples...and I will give you the land of Israel...And I will give them one (or, "a new") heart, and put a new spirit within them, and they shall be my people and I will be their God"¹.

Hence, the future of Israel's covenant history lay not with the remnant in Judah, but with the remnant in captivity. Through Yahweh's intervention, their hearts will be renewed and thus they will come to embody the community of the new covenant. He will redeem them and make them heirs to the promises in an "everlasting covenant". The covenant community of Israel will be narrowed down to a "remnant", the "new Israel", which will represent it and concentrate within itself the promises of the covenant².

3. The Everlasting Covenant in the Qumran Texts

a) The Destiny of Man

i) Election in 1QH

In 1QH, the root קדש is used rather sparsely with God as subject³. Quite often, a human agent is its subject⁴. An explanation for this

1: Ez.11:16,17,18,19,20;

2: On the doctrine of the "remnant" in Israel, cf. J.Jeremias, "Der Gedanke des 'Heiligen Restes' im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu", ZNW 42 (1949), pp.184-194; J.C.Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant", SJT 3 (1950), pp.78-85; F.Dryfus, "La Doctrine du Reste d'Israël chez le prophète Isaïe", RSPT 39 (1955), pp.361-386;

3: cf. 1QH IX:10; XV:19; XVI:10;

4: cf. 1QH II:13; XV:23; XVI:13; XVII:21;

lies in the fact that the Qumran psalmist has accepted his election as the basic hypothesis of his faith and, at the same time, presupposes it as common knowledge among his readers¹. His main interests lie with the effects of election upon himself and its consequences for common humanity. Hence, his urgent utterances are no attempt to implore and entreat, but to express gratitude for mercies received². "He feels that God has granted him many favours and blessings and he praises the Lord for them"³. Hence, in spite of the infrequent use of בחר, the psalmist's conviction of election is the underlying principle of his thought. Indeed, there is no doctrine more firmly embedded in his thought than that of election.

This conviction of the psalmist is not based on any sense of merit, strength of character, or fidelity on the part of man, as appeared to be the case in 1QS and, to a lesser degree, in CD. Nor is it understood as the outgrowth of God's previous covenant commitments. Rather, the psalmist's doctrine of election has developed along a course of thought which differs, to a marked degree, from that of the

1: cf. H.Bardtke, "Considérations sur les Cantiques de Qumran", RB 63, (1956), p.224;

2: Only in two isolated cases the psalmist states a request.cf. 1QH XI: 30; XVI:18; M.Baillet, "Deux cantiques d'action de grâces du désert de Juda", BLE 56 (1956), p.140;

3: J.Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll", IEJ 6 (1956), p.2 cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, "Le Livre des Hymnes découvert près de la Mer Morte", Sem 7 (1957), p.6; Many of the columns open with the words, 'אֲדַכָּה אֲדַכָּה, or, 'בְּרַךְ אֲפָה אֲתָנִי; E.L.Sukenik, The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1955, named these "Hodayot", or, "Thanksgiving Hymns".

other writings. This concept will be examined briefly¹.

(i) The election of the community originates in the "will" of God ($\text{סל } \text{קלסר}$), which predestines the destinies of the just and of the unjust². The community has been predestined for salvation and is, therefore, the $\text{קלסר } \text{קלס}$, the recipient of God's electing and predestining "will"³.

(ii) This predestining "will" of God has culminated in a manifestation of divine "grace" (קלס) within the community, which has lifted its members out of a state of moral depravity and natural fragility into the fellowship of "sons of grace"⁴ and "elect of righteousness"⁵. This idea of "culmination" is particularly evident in the use of the word קלס , or "truth". God's "truth" is His immovable "will" operative in the arena of history. It is a "foundation of truth"⁶. This "truth" is governed by His "righteousness"⁷, which is His ability to weigh "every scheme of action"⁸, and thus to distinguish between the just and unjust. It is, in fact, divine judgment already operative in

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- 1: A detailed account of the thanksgiving themes in 1QH is rendered superfluous by the abundance of material already available on the subject. cf. the bibliographies in: F.Nötscher, "Hodayot (Psalmenrolle)", BZ 2 (1958), pp.128-133; J.v.d.Ploeg, Six Années d'Etudes sur les Textes du Désert de Juda, Recherches Bibliques 4, pp.11-84;
 - 2: cf. 1QH I:23-24; IV:38; VII:34-36; VIII:1-3; IX:29; XV:1-26; Also: CD II:2,5; XX:2-4; cf. F.Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte, Bonn, 1956, p.173f; A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.135f; M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.55f; J.Licht, Op.cit., IEJ 6 (1956), p.4f;
 - 3: 1QH VII:20;
 - 4: 1QH XI:17;
 - 5: 1QH II:13;
 - 6: 1QH I:27;
 - 7: 1QH IV:40;
 - 8: 1QH VII:13-14;

history¹. This divine "truth" has been focussed upon the elect², for they have become "men of truth", or, "sons of truth"³. Through the activity of God's "truth", they have become partakers of His mercy and pardon⁴. Hence, God's "truth" is His electing and rejecting "will" governed by "righteousness" and "justice", operative in history and culminating in "grace" and "pardon" within the community, the "men of truth" and the "elect of righteousness"⁵.

(iii) In his natural state, man is morally and physically depraved. He remembers his sins and those of his fathers⁶ and knows that he is sinful and unreconciled "flesh" (בשר)⁷. He is a "creature of clay", tied to the limitations which the physical world imposes upon him⁸. He is the embodiment of human nature at its lowest state of natural and moral depravity, unable to achieve moral status and personal dignity by himself⁹.

(iv) The psalmist knows, however, that by God's grace he has been cleansed from iniquity and has been restored to a status of dignity before God¹⁰. God's intervention of grace has not only pardoned and restored him, but also prepared him for eschatological glory¹¹ through

1: 1QH IV:25; VI:9,10; VII:1,4,28;
2: 1QH II:10;
3: 1QH II:13,14; VI:29; VIII:30;
4: 1QH VII:30; IV:25; VI:9,10;
5: 1QH II:13,14;
6: 1QH IV:34; XVII:18;
7: 1QH IV:29; VII:17; XV:12,17; XVIII:8,14,21,23;
8: 1QH III:24; IV:29; XI:3; XII:26,32;
9: cf. J.Licht, Op.cit., IEJ 6 (1956), p.10f;
10: 1QH VII:27,35; X:14,16; XI:28,31; XVI:9,16;
11: 1QH V:22;

exemption from judgment¹. He has been numbered among the "sons of grace"², set aside for "eternal grace"³.

The sole objective of predestination, pardon and reconciliation is the preservation of the covenant relationship:

"Thou alone hast created the just and established him from his mother's womb unto the time of Thy good will. That he may be preserved unto Thy covenant...and that he (may go forward) upon it because of the immensity of Thy mercy"⁴.

Man's "conversion" from depravity into dignity marks the beginning of a right relationship within the covenant⁵:

"That Thou shouldst convert (him that is born of woman) and cause him to enter the covenant with Thee"⁶.

This restored covenant is, in fact, a "new covenant":

"For it is Thou who hast established him to see what they had not known (by bringing to an end) the former (things) and by creating things that are new; by setting aside the former covenants and by setting up that which shall remain for ever"⁷.

The intervention of divine grace, bringing into effect a restored nature in man and his reconciliation to God, inaugurates a new covenant transcending the former ones and being established for eternity.

1: 1QH VI:9; IX:7,14;

2: 1QH VII:20;

3: 1QH XIII:5;

4: 1QH XV:14b-16a;

5: cf. 1QH XVI:11-12; S.Mowinckel, "Some remarks on Hodayot 39:5-20", JBL 75 (1956), p.273;

6: 1QH XVIII:28;

7: 1QH XIII:10-12; cf. 1QS IV:25; 1Q34bis, II:11.12; Is.43:19; 48:6-7; cf. E.Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten Meer Rollen", ST 9 (1955), pp.131-136;

The essence and underlying principle of this new covenant is the newness of its quality. Through the intervention of divine grace, man has been raised from depravity into dignity; from separation into reconciliation, from damnation into salvation. The key-word of the new covenant is "grace". Its foundation is no longer the patriarchal heritage, nor is it the blood bond of the nation, but the undeserved "grace" of God which has made man a "new creation", transformed and restored into intimate fellowship with God.

The following general observations may serve as a summary of the concept of election in LQH:

- (i) It is primarily pre-historical. While not entirely identifiable with predestination, it is, nevertheless, conceived as the culmination of divine "will" which has pre-ordained the destinies of the elect, even before they came forth from their mothers' wombs.
- (ii) It is primarily supra-historical. The sins of the previous generations and man's complete state of natural depravity and impotency necessitate the intervention of divine "grace", for it is only by this that participation in the covenant is possible. The concept of election in LQH has broken away from its traditional links within history, for there is a greater and more accentuated sense of its uniqueness and "newness".
- (iii) It is primarily supra-social. The "I" in the psalms expresses the confrontation of depraved and sinful man before the mysteries of undeserved, divine grace. Whether the "I" is to be understood

individually or collectively¹, it represents, nevertheless, the phenomenon "man", rather than the the community as a whole.

The concept of election in 1QH has been lifted out of the traditional concepts of history, blood bond or covenant community. It is not understood as the fulfillment of God's previous covenant commitments, nor does it attempt to justify election in terms of a patriarchal covenant within Israel's history. Rather, it is the intervention of pre-ordained, divine "grace", transforming individual "man" and restoring him to a personal covenant relationship with God.

ii) Election and Immortality

The intimate nature of the covenant is expressed in the phrase, "to enter the covenant with Thee"², or, "to stand before Thee"³. However, to stand "before God" is to stand before eternity, for God is eternal⁴. For this reason, the verb ṭṭy is often joined to ḏṣy⁵. What, then, is implied in this concept of eternity?

1QH IV:21f., reflects a corporate understanding of eternity:

"They that are according to Thy soul shall stand before Thee for ever"⁶.

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- 1: cf. S.Holm-Nielsen, " 'Ich' in den Hodayoth und die Qumrangemeinde", in H.Bardtke, Qumran Probleme, Berlin, 1963, pp.217-229; Also: S. Mowinkel, Op.cit., JBL 75 (1956), p.268; M.Baillet, Op.cit., BLE 56 (1956), p.140; A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., Sem 7 (1957), p.7f;
2: 1QH XVIII:24,28;
3: 1QH IV:21-22; VII:31; XI:11-13;
4: 1QH VII:31; XIII:12 (?);
5: cf. Note 3;
6: cf. 1QH VII:31f;

This eternal destiny will be realized "at the time of judgment" (γ^p $\omega\omega\omega\Delta\eta$), when all the "men of deceit" will be eliminated (line 20). It has a concrete, historical setting in the eschatological war¹. This historical context is also evident in 1QH VI:11. The community is to relate God's marvels to succeeding ($\alpha\delta\iota\gamma$) generations in order that all nations may know His truth. Their eternal destiny is possible only by escape from God's judgment: they are the remnant, the "survivors" among the people².

The psalmist, however, is primarily concerned with the eternal destiny of the individual:

"That Thou shouldst convert him (that is born of woman) and cause him to enter the covenant with Thee, and that he should stand (before Thee always) in the everlasting place where shines the eternal light of dawn³.

"And Thou hast cleansed man of sin...that he may be joined with Thy sons of truth and with the lot of Thy saints...that he may watch with Thee the everlasting host..."⁴.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that we have here evidence of a belief in the immortality of man, in an individual sense . There is no indication of an eschatological judgment within a historical setting, as noted above. Rather, man's eternal destiny is in God's presence, "in the everlasting place", in the company of God's angels⁵. 1QH III

1: cf. 1QH VI:30f;

2: 1QH VI:8;

3: 1QH XVIII:28f;

4: 1QH XI:11-13;

5: The concreteness of such expectations is evident in an angelic liturgy, possibly observed in anticipation of man's fellowship with the angels. cf. J.Strugnell, "The angelic liturgy at Qumran", Supp. to VT 7 (1960), pp.318-345;

:19-22 expresses this even more emphatically:

"I give thee thanks, O Adonai, for Thou hast redeemed my soul from the pit and from Sheol of Abaddon. Thou hast made me rise to everlasting heights and I have walked in an infinite plain. And I knew that there was hope for him whom Thou hast shaped from the dust for the everlasting assembly. Thou hast cleansed the perverse spirit from great sin that he might watch with the army of the saints and enter into communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven".

Hence, the psalmist of Qumran distinguishes between a corporate and an individual destiny of man. The former is grounded in an expectation of a happy life of eternity for the community on earth, to be realized after the final war against and judgment upon the "sons of deceit". The latter is the expectation of a resurrected and immortal life for individual man who, after his death, will live in a state of "everlasting joy and happiness without end"¹, in the company of God and in the fellowship of His angels².

1: 1QH XI:27;

2: J.v.d.Ploeg, "The Belief in Immortality in the Writings of Qumran", BO 18 (1961), p.123, stresses the individualistic nature of these passages (i.e. 1QH III:19-22), as distinguished from the corporate ones. cf. G.Vermes, Discovery in the Judean Desert. The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Meaning, New York, 1957, p.118; Others, on the other hand, make no such distinctions. cf. K.Schubert, "Das Problem der Auferstehungshoffnung in den Qumrantexten und in der früh-rabbinischen Literatur", Wiener Zeitschrift 56 (1960), pp.154-168; M.Mansoor, Op.cit., pp.84-89; Again others refute any evidence of a belief in immortality. cf. R.B.Laurin, "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran Hodayot", JSS 3, (1958), pp.344-355; For other discussions of this problem, cf. M.Delcor, "L'Immortalité de l'âme dans le livre de la Sagesse et dans les Documents de Qumran", NRT 77 (1955), pp.614-630; A.S.v.d.Woude, De Dankpsalmen, Amsterdam, 1957, p.14;

In a number of passages, one may discern a certain affinity between the concept of the "covenant of God" and the doctrine of immortality. To participate in the "covenant of God" is to rest on an "eternal foundation"¹, to possess "eternal salvation and perpetual unfailing peace"². 1QH II:20b-21a is particularly revealing:

"Thou hast placed my soul in the sack of life
and protected me from all the snares of the pit".

Significantly, in CD XIV:2, this activity of God has been linked to the "covenant of God":

"The covenant of God is assurance for them that
He will save them from the snares of the pit".

To be protected from the "snares of the pit" is to escape the "cords of Sheol", or, the "snares of death"³. In the above text, it could refer, in a purely temporal sense, to an escape from death at the hands of one's adversaries, "the violent men" who seek one's soul (line 21). In 1QH III:19f., however, it refers specifically to a state of immortality beyond death: to be redeemed from the "pit" is to be saved from "Sheol" and to be raised to "everlasting heights", (line 20), to join the "everlasting assembly" (line 21), and to stand before "the congregation of the sons of heaven" (line 22). Again in 1QH XVIII:28, the psalmist speaks of entering the covenant with God, and of standing before Him eternally "in the everlasting place where shines the eternal light of dawn".

1: 1QH VII:8-9;
2: 1QH XV:15,16;
3: 2 Sam. 22:6;

The expression "covenant of God" in 1QH conveys, then, the qualities of man's eternal relationship to God. Removed from the limitations of history and the confinements of a blood-bond community, it points beyond history to immortality and beyond the corporate community to a state of individual blessedness in the company of all the saints and angels¹.

b) The Destiny of the Remnant

i) 1QS IV:18-23

Hodayoth

In spite of the psalmist's preoccupation with the concept of "eternity", the expression "everlasting covenant" is entirely lacking. This fact is contingent upon his understanding of covenant, which we have just discussed. He is primarily concerned with the concept of the "covenant of God", the eternal and immortal destiny of individual man. We shall see, however, that the idea of an "everlasting covenant" is quite inseparable from the covenant community and its functions in the events of eschatological history. 1QS IV:18-23 will be our starting point:

"In His mysteries of understanding and in His glorious wisdom, God has set an end for the existence of perversity; and at the time of the visitation He will destroy it for ever. Then truth shall arise in the world for ever; for (the world) has defiled itself in the ways of wickedness under the dominion of perversity until the time of final judgment. Then God will

1: cf. 1QH IV:30,32; V:11,15; VI:11; X:28; XI:6;

cleanse by His truth all the works of man, and will purify for Himself the (bodily) fabric of every man, to banish all spirit of perversity from his members, and purify him of all wicked deeds by the spirit of holiness; and He will cause the spirit of truth to gush forth upon him like lustral water. All lying abominations shall come to an end (and) defilement by the spirit of defilement. The just will comprehend the knowledge of the most high, and the perfect of way will have understanding of the wisdom of the sons of heaven. For God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant and all the glory of the man (אדם כבודו) is theirs. Perversity will exist no more".

ii) The Time of Final Judgment

The historical setting of the "everlasting covenant" will be the "time of final judgment" (טוֹבֵי תַּיִם line 20), or, the "time of the visitation" (הַיָּמִים תַּיִם line 18)¹. Other passages speak of the "day of judgment"²; the "time of wrath"³; the "end of days"⁴; the "final end"⁵; the "consummation of time"⁶. Hence, the "everlasting covenant" will be actualized in a historical event, the eschatological "day of judgment"⁷.

"Until the time of His visitation", God will allow "the spirits of truth and perversity" to exist side by side (line 17)⁸. But the arrival of the "time of visitation" will mean their separation.

1: 1QS III:18; IX:18,26; (הַיָּמִים תַּיִם); CD VIII:21; XIX:10,11 (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים); 4QpIs^b, II:2; (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים);
 2: 1QpH XII:14; XIII:2,3; (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים);
 3: 1QS III:28; CD I:5,7; 4QpHos^b, I:10; (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים);
 4: 4QpIs^a; 4QpIs^b, II:1; 4QpIs^c, I:10; 4QpHos^b, I:10; (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים); cf. CD IV:4; VI:11; 1QSa I:1; 1QpH II:6; IX:6; 4QpI I:2,12,15,19;
 5: 1QS IV:17; 1QpH VII:7,12; (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים);
 6: CD IV:9,10; (יָמֵי הַיָּמִים);
 7: cf. J.v.d.Ploeg, Op.cit., BO 18 (1961), p.121;
 8: 1QS III:18-19; X:18-21;

Perversity will be "destroyed" for ever and truth shall "arise in the world for ever" (lines 18-19). This process of separation will be effected through "judgment" and "salvation"¹. It will be a "time of wrath for Belial"², of total and eternal destruction for the "men of the lot of Belial"³.

This eschatological event of judgment is imminent. For this reason, the contemporary opponents of the community are designated as the "generation of the visitation" or, the "generation of the end of days"⁴. For the people of God, on the other hand, the "time of visitation" will be a "time of salvation"⁵, of "gladness"⁶ and of "eternal joy and perpetual life"⁷. Just as God saved His people at the "first visitation", so too now, He will save "the poor of the flock"⁸.

iii) The Remnant and Survivors of the Covenant

The distinction between the destinies of "judgment" and "salvation" is often expressed in terms of the "remnant". The "men of the lot of Belial" are destined to be destroyed "by the hand of

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- 1: CD XX:20-21; cf. 1QM I:5; CD XIX:10; 1QH I:17; 1QS IV:6,11;
 - 2: 1QH III:28;
 - 3: 1QM I:5; cf. 1QS II:6,III:14; IV:18-19; CD V:15; VII:19; VIII:2-3; 1QpH XII:14; XIII:3; 1QH VI:29,32; 4QpIs^b,II:2; 4QpHos^b,I:10; etc.;
On the interpretation of "Belial", cf. H.W.Huppenbauer, "Belial in den Qumrantexten", TZ 15 (1959), pp.81-89;
 - 4: 4QpHos^b,I:10;
 - 5: 1QM I:5;
 - 6: 1QH I:17;
 - 7: 1QS IV:7;
 - 8: CD XIX:10-11;

all the angels of destruction...with no remnant remaining of them nor survivor"¹. This is sharply contrasted with "the people of God", whom God did not deliver up to destruction but left as a "remnant"². They are the remnant "and survivors of the covenant"³, the "remnant of the people"⁴, among whom divine redemption and salvation will again take effect⁵.

It is significant that the idea of the eschatological "remnant" is associated with "survival"⁶. This survival will be made possible through God's atoning work, through which the eschatological remnant will find "refuge in His holy name"⁷. They will be the "remnant of sinners destroyed"⁸, who will be enabled to escape the catastrophes which shall befall the unrighteous in the eschatological "time of final judgment". "Les Sadocites se seraient considérés comme échappant à la corruption universelle"⁹.

iv) The Sons of God's Will

The concept of the surviving "remnant" is also expressed through the term בְּנֵי הָרָצָה. The expression occurs in only two instances¹⁰.

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- 1: CD II:6-7; cf. 1QS IV:14; V:13; 1QH VI:32; VII:29; 1QM I:6;
 - 2: CD I:4f;
 - 3: 1QM XIII:8;
 - 4: 1QM XIV:8,9;
 - 5: 1QM XIV:4,5;
 - 6: 1QM XIII:8; 1QH VI:8;
 - 7: CD XX:34; 1QH IX:28,29;
 - 8: cf. C.Rabin, Op.cit., p.6 (n.6);
 - 9: A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.231;
 - 10: 1QH IV:33; XI:9;

There are numerous occurrences, however, of the root רצו and the substantive רצו , in isolation. The Hebrew root means "to will". When associated with God, this "will" is not arbitrary or impersonal, but moves toward its object with strong emotional involvement¹.

Similarly, in the Qumran texts, רצו refers to God's "will" as electing and predestining "purpose" rather than divine "pleasure" in an arbitrary sense². The community has been elected (בחר) according to God's "will" (רצו)³. In the "time of His good will", He has elected (בחר) them into His covenant⁴. Hence, the בני רצו are the "members of (the) covenant" (1QS VI:19); "the elect of goodwill" (בחרל רצו)^{4a}.

This election, conveyed through the term רצו , is closely linked to God's atoning work. God's "will" elects for reward and for punishment⁵: for the elect, the reward is "forgiveness"; for the "men of deceit", the outcome will be "judgments" and "wrath":

"All the judgments of chastisement are in Thy wrath and abundance of pardon in Thy goodness
And Thy mercy is obtained by all the sons of
Thy loving-kindness (בני רצו)"⁶.

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- 1: The Septuagint and Vulgate make this quite clear. There רצו is rendered "favour", "pity", "approval", "acceptance", "restoration", or "blessing". cf. N.Walker, "The rendering of רצו ", JBL 81 (1962).
 - 2: cf. E.Vogt, "Peace among men of God's good pleasure", (pp.182-184; in K.Stendahl, The Scrolls and the New Testament, New York, 1957, p.115f; cf. M.Mansoor, *Op.cit.*, p.130 (n.1); H.Kosmala, *Op.cit.*, p.238 (n.22); J.Maier, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.105 (n.9);
 - 3: 1QS IX:15; XI:17;
 - 4: 1Q34bis, 2-5; 1QH XIV:13; 4a: 1QS VIII:6;
 - 5: 1QH I:9-18;
 - 6: 1QH XI:9; The בני רצו are, in this sense, the בני חסד of 1QH VII:20, who have entered the בית חסד . cf. 1QSI:8; and who have been pardoned of their sins. cf. 1QS XI:13,14;

for

The בְּיָסֵד are the "elected" and "pardoned" community, set apart for special consideration when the great upheaval of the eschatological era dawns. While linked to "atonement" as a present act, this "pardon" is even more closely associated with the act of "forgiveness" in the day of judgment. The בְּיָסֵד are the "remnant and survivors of the covenant", who through election-atonement will be allowed to escape the catastrophes of divine judgment.

Election, in this eschatological context, however, is not just a negative act on the part of God, but essentially a positive one. The elect themselves will participate in the execution of divine judgment upon evil. They are the " בְּיָסֵד appointed...to bring down punishment upon the wicked"¹, "to decree the judgment of wickedness"². Both ideas, of survival from and participation in eschatological judgment, are particularly evident in the use of the term "the poor".

v) The Poor

That the community practised a community of goods, similar to that described by Josephus, is now a generally recognized fact³. It has been suggested that the expression "the poor" ($\text{דְּבָרֵי הַבְּיָסֵד}$) is a proper name, adapted to the sect of Qumran in view of this practice⁴.

1: 1QS VIII:6b-7a;

2: 1QS VIII:10;

3: cf. 1QS I:11; V:2; VI:22; cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.233; p.290; p.333;

4: 1QpH XII:3,6,10; cf. K.Elliger, *Op.cit.*, p.48 (n.1); p.86f; pp.220-222;

If, however, one is to assume a real connection between the practice and the title, one would expect the former to have been pursued by the entire Essene community. That this was not the case is indicated in CD which, while placing certain restrictions on excessive ownership, does not forbid the right of private possession¹.

It is the Old Testament conception of "poverty" and of the status of "the poor" which provides the proper background to its use in the Qumran texts.

The Old Testament teaches that poverty is not just an economic state, nor ~~less~~ are "the poor" a mere social phenomenon². Poverty represents an attitude of need of God and of humility towards God which is, in itself, a quality of righteousness and virtue³. Poverty and contempt for riches represent a quality of spirit which is to be desired rather than despised⁴. Furthermore, the poverty of God's people, as a symbol of their humility, is a charismatic gift, a "Gnadenstand", through which His grace and election can effectively operate⁵. "Ce sont les opprimés au coeur brisé qui mettent leur espoir en Dieu seul, et Dieu les protège, les délivre"⁶. The idea that "the poor"

1: Cf. M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.233f.

2: Cf. A.Causse, Les Pauvres d'Israël, Paris, 1922, pp.98-111; A.Kuschke, Arm und Reich im Alten Testament mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Terminologie, Dissertation, Giessen, 1939; (reviewed in ZAW 57, 1939, pp.31-57); J.v.d.Ploeg, "Les Pauvres d'Israël et leur piété", OTS 7, (1950), pp.236-270.

3: Cf. Ps.37:14,16; 69:33-34; Is.29:19; Zeph.2:3; cf. A.Gelin, Les Pauvres de Yahvé, Paris, 1956, p.52,65.

4: Ps.37:16; Prov.3:13f; 15:16; Zeph.2:3; cf. A.Gelin, *Op.cit.*, p.28,53.

5: Ps.9:18; 12:5; 35:10; 40:17; 69:33; 70:5; 86:1.

6: A.Jaubert, *Op.cit.*, p.247.

in their humility represent the spiritually prepared community through which eschatological salvation is mediated, is a recurring one in the psalms¹, as well as in prophetic writing²:

"This is the man to whom I will look, he that is humble and contrite in spirit and trembles at my word"³.

This Old Testament conception of the relationship poverty-humility and eschatological salvation, the Qumran community understood to be directly applicable to its own situation⁴. The reference above to the "humble in spirit" (קַיָּוִל) is particularly interesting in the light of 1QM XIV:7 and 1QH XIV:3, where the same expression appears in a slightly modified form: $\text{קַיָּוִל וְקַיָּוִל}$. What is the meaning of this expression in the Qumran context?

In the texts, there is a constant emphasis on the need for "humility" (קַיָּוִל), either on a social level⁵, or in relationship to God⁶. The latter is often expressed as "humility in spirit" ($\text{קַיָּוִל וְקַיָּוִל}$)⁷. Hence, the "humble in spirit" are those who practise "humility in spirit" in their relationship to God. K.Schubert points out that the Hebrew קַיָּוִל can also mean "will" or "agreement", in which case, the appellation refers to those who are "poor through inward

1: Ps.18:27; 35:10;

2: Is.57:15; Jer.20:13; Zeph.3:11-13; cf. M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.110 (n.7); R.Mayer-J.Reuss, Op.cit., p.45f; J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.83f;

3: Is.66:2;

4: Compare Is.61:1 and 1QH XVIII:14; cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.252 (n.7); Note also the equation "remnant"-"the poor" in Zeph.3:11-13;

5: 1QS V:25; IX:22; XI:1;

6: 1QS II:24; IV:3; V:3;

7: 1QS III:8; IV:3;

agreement", the voluntarily "poor", who have dedicated all their worldly possessions to the common good of the community¹.

It is more likely, however, that the origin of the expression lies in the meaning of "humility" in LQS, rather than in the practice of voluntary poverty. In LQS, "humility of spirit" is understood as a fundamental expression of the pious and righteous man². As the opposite of "stubbornness of heart"³, it is an attitude of submission "towards all the precepts of God"⁴, an attitude of "faith in all the works of God", and trust "in His abundant grace"⁵. As in the Old Testament, there is a charismatic quality in this "humility". The "humble" are those who accept the persecutions of the present in thankful submission, in the knowledge and faith that "a foundation of truth" is being laid⁶; that atonement for their sins is to be made⁷; that they are already reckoned among the "sons of everlasting company"⁸. They are the "humble in spirit".

This understanding of "humility" as an act of faith is also

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- 1: K.Schubert, "The Sermon on the Mount And the Qumran Texts", in K.Stendahl, The Scrolls and the New Testament, p.122; cf. S. Legasse, "Les Pauvres en Esprit et les Volontaires de Qumran", NTS 8, (1962), pp.336-345; A.A.Anderson, "The use of Ruah in LQS, LQH and LQM", JJS 7 (1962), pp.293-303;
 - 2: LQH V:22: "quick unto righteousness". cf. R.Eppel, Le Piétisme Juif dans les Testaments des Douze Patriarches, Strasbourg, (1930), p.152;
 - 3: LQS V:3;
 - 4: LQS III:8;
 - 5: LQS IV:3;
 - 6: LQS V:3;
 - 7: LQS II:24;
 - 8: Ibid;

evident in the use of the title "the poor" (ד'י'ב'ל)¹. Thus, in 4QpPs37, I:9, the community is called the "congregation of the poor" (ד'י'ב'ל סתו) and is further qualified as those "who accept the time of affliction and will be delivered"². The afflictions of the present are not to go unrewarded. The texts follow the Old Testament concept that there is a charismatic element in the innocent suffering of "the poor"³. "The poor" live in the knowledge that already they are "the elect of God"⁴; that already God's redemptive acts are at work among them⁵. They are "the poor of grace" (ד'י'ב'ל טו)⁶. This knowledge of election gives ultimate meaning to the persecutions of the present. Through hardship, God is preparing them to be the purified "remnant" for service in the eschatological fulfillment of time⁷. This redemptive work of God, already partially realized in the afflictions of the present, will be followed by marvellous glory:

" 'Arm' ist Niedrigkeitsprädikat, Bekenntnis der Niedrigkeit des menschlichen Unvermögens und 'Gnade' ist Gottes Heilshandeln im Erbarmen über die Nichten, Unwürdigen, dieses besteht in der Vergebung

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- 1: cf. H.J.Kandler, "Die Bedeutung der Armut im Schrifttum von Chirbet Qumran", *Judaica* 13 (1957), p.195; J.Maier, *Op.cit.*, Vol.II, p.84; J.Mayer-J.Reuss, *Op.cit.*, p.45: "Zweifelloos bedeutet Armut für die Qumrangemeinde nicht ein sozialen Stand, sondern war weitgehend ein religiösen Begriff". cf. K.Schubert, *Op.cit.*, *Wiener Zeitschrift*, 56 (1960), p.76f;
- 2: Note the frequent references to the persecution of the poor. cf. 1QpH XII:3,6,10; etc.;
- 3: cf. 1QH II:32: "by shedding his blood because of Thy service".
- 4: Compare 1QpH XII:3,6,10 and 1QpH IX:12; X:15;
- 5: 1QH II:32-34; V:16,18;
- 6: 1QH V:22;
- 7: 1QH V:15-16; II:32;

der unverdienten Erwählung und Hilfe in
der eschatologischen Erlösung"¹.

The "congregation of the poor" are the "poor of redemption"²
who will survive God's judgment and "will be delivered"³. Furthermore,
they shall possess the high mountain of Israel and shall enjoy ever-
lasting delights in God's sanctuary⁴.

"The poor" are not only elected and redeemed by God in a
passive sense, but will also perform an active part in the eschatolo-
gical war against Belial⁵:

"Thou wilt be glorified in our enemies in which
Thou wilt bring down the bands of Belial into
the hands of the poor whom Thou hast redeemed"⁶

In this sense, they are "the elect of Israel, the men called by name,
who shall stand at the end of days"⁷; "the chosen of loving-kindness
appointed...to bring down punishment upon the wicked"⁸.

We have come close to the Old Testament notion of the "poor"
as the the spiritually prepared covenant community through which
eschatological salvation can be mediated. They are the vehicle for
the establishment of God's glory and kingdom:

"To make for Thyself an eternal name in the
people whom (Thou hast redeemed)"⁹

1: J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.87, (n.22).

2: 1QM XI:9; Literally "the poor whom Thou hast redeemed" (לְעַמִּי הַדָּל אֲשֶׁר אֶתְּשֶׁלֶּם).

3: 4QpPs37, I:9; cf. 1QM XIII:14.

4: 4QpPs37, II:9; Ez.17:23; 20:40.

5: K.Schubert, Op.cit., Wiener Zeitschrift 56, (1960), p.77: "Die Armen
sind also nicht nur passiv von Gott erlöst, sondern sie haben auch
die aktive Aufgabe den endzeitlichen Rachekrieg Gottes zu führen". Cf.

6: 1QM XI:8-9; cf. line 13.

(1QM XIII:4.

7: CD IV:4.

8: 1QS VIII:6f; cf. A.Jaubert, Op.cit., p.247.

9: 1QM XI:5.

Here, we have also the paradox so clearly evident in the Old Testament: the election of the few and the unworthy¹. God has chosen "the humble of the land"² to possess the land³. "The soul of the poor one", who was a stranger in the midst of the tumult⁴, has been selected to receive the tidings of the messianic age⁵; and those who "kneel in the dust"⁶, the "humble of spirit"⁷, have become the victors of the eschatological war over Belial⁸.

vi) The Everlasting Covenant and the Remnant

The conception of the community as being instrumental in the execution of God's judgment in the eschatological era has a direct bearing upon the concept of the "everlasting covenant".

In the above-quoted passage, 1QS IV:18-23, the election to an "everlasting covenant" is centred upon "the just"; "the perfect of way" (line 22). This is reiterated in 1QSb, I:2:

"To bless those who fear (God and do) His will...
whom He has chosen for the everlasting covenant
which (shall re)main for ever".

Consequently, they are called "the community of the everlasting covenant"⁹; "the everlasting people"¹⁰, who have entered "the covenant

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- 1: e.g. Deut.7:6ff.;
2: 1QSb V:22;
3: 4QpPs37,II:10;
4: 1QH III:25;
5: 1QH XVIII:14; Is.61:1;
6: 1QH XI:13;
7: 1QM XIV:7;
8: 1QM XI:9,13;
9: 1QS V:6;
10: 1QM XIII:7,9;

of the everlasting community"¹. The interchangeable association of the word "everlasting" (עולם) with covenant (ברית) and "community" (קהל) indicates that the notion of the "everlasting covenant" is inseparable from that of the "everlasting community"². The nature of this relationship becomes clear in the light of a comparison between 1QS IV:18-23 and 1QS VIII:6-10. 1QS IV:18-19 states that God will destroy "perversity" and elevate "truth" in the time "of final judgment". In 1QS VIII:6, this act of divine judgment becomes the act of the community. They are the "witnesses of truth unto judgment"³. Again, in 1QS IV:22-23, it is stated that God's elective activity in the "everlasting covenant" will coincide with the destruction of perversity: "perversity will exist no more" (line 23). In 1QS VIII:9-10, it is precisely the function of the community to establish the "everlasting covenant" in her execution of judgment upon "perversity":

"The house of perfection and truth in Israel to establish the covenant according to the everlasting precepts (לְהַקִּים בְּרִית עֲלֵמָה וְעֲלֵמָה) ... and to decree the judgment of wickedness with no perversity remaining".

Hence, the "everlasting covenant" is the "covenant of the everlasting community", elected by God to escape the eschatological judgment and appointed by Him to participate in the execution of that judgment.

1: 1QS III:11-12;

2: In CD III:4, the patriarchs are called "everlasting covenanters".

3: עֲלֵמָה וְעֲלֵמָה ; cf. 1QM VI:6; XI:14; The latter states: "To justify Thy judgment of truth in the midst of the sons of men".

4. Summary

In the preceding chapter, we gave a description of the Old Testament conception of the patriarchal covenant, the supreme covenant of promise, election and salvation. In this chapter, we have seen how closely related the conception of an "everlasting covenant" is to that of the patriarchal. Initiated by Yahweh and sustained by His grace, it prevails over the upheavals of history or disobedience of man. In this sense, it is a "theological" or "spiritual" covenant, rather than a historical one. It has an eternal validity resting upon an immutable relationship of intimacy and harmony between Yahweh and His covenant people.

A distinct change in emphasis was noted, however, between the priestly and the prophetic understanding of this supreme covenant. Whereas P understood the patriarchal covenant to be a reminder of Yahweh's activity in the past, the prophets projected the "everlasting covenant" into the eschatological era, as a future expectation. These implications were particularly evident in the prophetic "new covenant", which we defined as "the everlasting covenant seen from its eschatological point of view".

Finally, we have seen how these promises of election and salvation, to be fulfilled in the eschatological covenant, were focussed upon and became concentrated in the "remnant", the future "new Israel".

The Qumran community understood itself to be, not only the passive recipient of the patriarchal covenant promise, but also the

active remnant of the eschatological era through which God's purpose will operate and be brought to its fulfillment in an "everlasting covenant". They are the members of the "covenant of the everlasting community", the spiritually prepared people of God through whom eschatological salvation will be mediated.

Hence, in the Qumran texts, as well, the themes of promise-fulfillment-expectation are closely linked to the concept of the one supreme covenant reality: the patriarchal or everlasting covenant. We have seen how election came to be understood as the fulfillment of the patriarchal covenant promise in a remnant and was again projected into the future as an expectation to be achieved among an eschatological remnant in an everlasting covenant. Finally, we have seen how closely this expectation is associated with the theme of salvation and with the functions of the remnant as the instrument of that salvation.

CHAPTER IX

THE COVENANT OF PEACE

1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, we have seen that the Qumran psalmist was primarily concerned with the concept of election as a reality involving the phenomenon of "righteous man", rather than that being focussed upon a covenant community bound by a blood bond within a precise historical context.

Our study of the use of the term "everlasting covenant", on the other hand, has shown that in other texts election is quite inseparable from the vision of the remnant, the eschatological covenant community, and its active participation in the events of the eschatological drama.

In this chapter, we shall see how the notion of the "everlasting covenant" extends beyond participation in judgment to include the active witness and religious life of the covenant community.

2. The Glory of Adam

In 1QS IV:22, the full context of which is quoted on pages 167 and 168, we have the words:

"God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant
and all the glory of Adam is theirs (DIX T123);
perversity will exist no more".

a) The Glory of Adam and the Everlasting Covenant

The writer sees a direct relationship between the "glory of Adam" and the "everlasting covenant".

Several non-canonical texts express the idea that Adam was a mortal being at the time of creation¹. Others are equally explicit that, in view of his original sinless state, he was not intended to be mortal². This is evident in 2 Enoch 30:11, where Adam is called a "second angel". According to 2 Enoch 69:11, men are not intended to be mortal since they were created like the angels³. This clear difference of opinion in the non-canonical texts is probably due to Gen.1:27 and 2:7. According to the former, Adam was created in the "image of God" and is thus immortal. According to the latter, he was formed "of the dust of the ground" and is destined to return "unto dust" (Gen.3:19). Adam is thus able to receive immortality or death⁴.

What is true for Adam is also true for his descendants, for he is the father of mankind⁵. The relationship sin-death; righteousness-immortality remains effective. On account of Adam's

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- 1: cf. Ecclus.14:17; 17:12; 40:11; A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit.,p.82 translates $\Delta\tau\chi$ =Man, but does not deny the possibility of Adam, cf. p.82 (n.3). G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls,p.100 renders "Adam".
2: cf. W.O.E.Oesterley, 2 Esdras, London, (1933), p.20 (n.7);
3: 2 Baruch 3:17; 19:18; 23:4; 2 Esdras 3:6-7; In the latter, Adam is thought to become mortal only after he sinned.
4: cf. D.Stone, "Adam", JTS 24 (1923), pp.473-475; (cf.p.474);
5: cf. N.Walker, "'Adam' and 'Eve' and 'Adonai'", ZAW 74 (1962), pp. 61-68;

sin at the fall, death becomes the lot of the entire human race¹:

"O Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee; For what profit is it unto us if there be promised us an immortal time, whereas we have done the works that bring death? And that there is promised us an everlasting hope, whereas we ourselves most miserably are become vain?²

But, just as there was hope of immortality for Adam on account of his original purity, so too now, not all hope is lost:

"For as Thou hast not forgotten the people who now are, and those who have passed away, so I remembered those who are appointed to come. Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those who should be born was numbered and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell"³.

Because of Adam's sin, death is the lot of mankind. But God has focussed His attention on a select few to inherit eternal life. The Talmud makes this quite explicit:

"When God was about to create Adam, he consulted the ministering angels and said unto them: 'shall we make Adam in our own image after our likeness?' They replied: 'For what good wilt Thou create him?' He responded: 'That the righteous may rise out of him'"⁴.

Similarly, the Mishnah states:

"But a single Adam was created for the sake of peace among mankind"⁵.

1: cf. J.DeFraine, Adam et son Lignage, Brussels, 1959, p.130;

2: 2 Esdras 7:118-120; cf. 3:21; 2 Baruch 23:4; 48:42;

3: 2 Baruch 23:4;

4: Bereshith Rabbah 8; cf. P.I.Hershon, A Talmudic Miscellany, London, 1880, ad.loc.;

5: Sanhedrin 4:5;

There are, thus, two distinct traditions. According to one, mankind is doomed to death, for Adam sinned. According to the other, the righteous will inherit eternal life, for Adam was originally pure. Like Adam, so his descendants are created for death and eternity. It is precisely with the latter tradition that the Qumran community identified itself:

"God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant and all the glory of Adam is theirs"¹.

"They...are (destined) for everlasting life and theirs shall be the glory of Adam"².

"That their seed may be before Thee for ever... and to give them a share in the glory of Adam"³.

"And to them will belong all the glory of Adam and to their seed for ever"⁴.

The consistent association of the expression "the glory of Adam" with the concepts of "eternity", seems to imply that the "glory", in store for the "everlasting community", will be "identical with, or of a similar grandeur to the glory of paradise", before Adam's fall⁵. What, then, are the precise implications of "the glory of Adam" in relation to the time of the "everlasting covenant"?

b) The Glory of Adam and Everlasting Peace

1QS IV:23 also expresses a direct relationship between the

1: 1QS IV:23;

2: CD III:20;

3: 1QH XVII:14-15;

4: 4QpPs37, II:2;

5: cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, Op.cit., p.87 (n.80);

absence of "perversity" and "the glory of Adam"¹. The latter expression occurs in Ecclus.49:16:

"Seth, Shem and Enos were created among men;
And over all these is the glory of Adam"

A comparable passage is 2 Enoch 30:11-12:

"And I placed him (Adam) on earth, a second angel, honourable, great and glorious, and I appointed him as ruler on earth and to have my wisdom"².

The idea that Adam was complete in virtue and wisdom received particular attention from the gnostic writers, who stressed his original purity of character before God at the time of creation³. Hence, the phrase, "the glory of Adam is theirs" implies that the eschatological community is to inherit the obedience and purity of character which was Adam's before the fall. That such an idea was by no means uncommon is attested by other non-canonical writers. God, speaking to Adam, says:

"Then shall not be taken from Thy seed the (right) to serve me"⁴.

Again, the Mishnah says:

"A single Adam was created to proclaim the greatness of the Holy One. But the king of kings, the Holy One, stamped every man with the seal of the first Adam"⁵.

1: In the passage IQS IV:20-21, the bestowal of "truth" upon the sect is understood to coincide with the elimination of "perversity" and "wicked deeds". cf. IQS III:8; IX:4; V:5;

2: The attribution of divine wisdom is probably based on Gen.1:27;

3: cf. K.Rudolph, "Ein Grundtyp gnostischer Urmensch-Adam Spekulation", ZRGG 9 (1957), pp.1-20; F.Cumont, "Die Befreiung Adams aus der 'Avdy' ^{K₇}", in E.Petersen, Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis, Rome-Freiburg-Vienna, 1959, p.109 (n.7)

4: Books of Adam and Eve 27:3;

5: Sanhedrin 4:5;

The Qumran texts re-echo this with distinct clarity:

"The glory of Adam is theirs; perversity will exist no more"¹.

"To cast away all their iniquities and to give them a share in the glory of Adam"².

"They who cling to it...theirs shall be the glory of Adam"³.

Just as Adam was originally perfect and immortal, but sinned and inherited death, so too his descendants are destined to inherit virtue or sin, death or immortality. The Qumran community believed that both its eternal future and the absence of "perversity" were a re-expression of the original "glory" which was Adam's before the fall. "All the glory of Adam is theirs; God has chosen them for an everlasting covenant; perversity will exist no more". It will be a covenant surviving for ever within the "everlasting community" which, living in a state of paradisaical perfection, will be free from the temptations of "perversity".

3. Everlasting Peace

a) The Prophetic Covenant of Peace and Righteousness

The conception of the "everlasting covenant" as a form of utopian perfection, expressed through the life of the eschatological community, has its roots in the prophetic "covenant of peace".¹

The relationship expressed through $\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta$ is one of

1: cf. Is.54:10; Ez.34:25f; 37:26; Mal.2:5;

"unimpairedness", a state of harmonious equilibrium in which the reciprocal needs and claims of Yahweh and people are kept in perfect balance: "They shall be my people and I will be their God"¹. It is a "covenant", a two-sided relationship of reciprocal election and response.

In the last analysis, however, the prime motive power of this state of *DISU* remains Yahweh's initiative of "grace":

"Peace, peace, to the far and to the near, says the Lord; and I will heal him"².

A similar emphasis on divine initiative is evident when the prophets speak of the "covenant of peace":

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- 1: cf. Jer.32:40; Ez.37:26; 34:21; The verb *DISU* means "to complete", (Neh.6:15; 1 Kings 7:51; 2 Chron. 5:1), or expresses an action which is still moving toward its completion, (Is.60:20). The adverb *DISU* qualifies that which is "complete" or "unimpaired", such as men who return unharmed from battle (Josh.10:21; Judg.8:21; 11:31; Jer.43:12), or, a dwelling place which has remained protected against harm (Job 5:24; Is.32:18; Jer.25:37; 12:5;). In a spiritual sense, it can refer to the total and unconditional nature of man's allegiance to God: *DISU* is "wholeness of heart". (1 Kings 8:61; 11:4; 15:3;). Again, it can refer to the relationship of "harmony" between nations or individuals (Gen.34:21; Josh.9:15; Judg.4:17; 1 Sam.7:14; Is.27:5) as opposed to one of strife and war (Jer.4:10; 12:12; 34:4f). Hence, the noun *DISU* expresses a quality of "completeness"; "harmony" or "unimpairedness", which may exist in man's relationship to man or to God. cf. E. Neumann, "Frieden als Symbol des Lebens", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 27 (1958), p.12: "Frieden bedeutet Eintracht, Gleichgewicht, der Kräfte und Harmonie". (cf. p.20). In the context of the covenant, such a relationship may exist between men (Gen.26:31; 1 Kings 5:12), between man and his surroundings (Job 5:23) or between God and man, (cf. p.187 n.1);
- 2: Is.57:19; cf. Ps 85:9,10; Is. 9:6,7; 32:17; 54:13; 55:12; 60:17; Zech.8:10-12; cf. J. Stamm-H. Bietenhard, Der Weltfriede im Alten und Neuen Testament, Zürich, 1959, p.14f; J. Comblin, Théologie de la Paix, Vol. I, Paris, 1960, p.87;

"my steadfast love shall not depart from you
and my covenant of peace shall not be removed"¹

It is "an everlasting covenant" in which Yahweh's presence is for ever assured². Of particular relevance also is the account in Ez.34: 25-30. The "covenant of peace" will materialize within the corporate life of the eschatological community³. The community will know the true reciprocal nature of the covenant relationship: namely, that Yahweh is their God and that they are His people (vs.30). They will realize the demands which the covenant places upon them. In the final analysis, however, it is Yahweh Himself who through compulsion of love brings His people to obedience. In graphic, pictorial form, the prophet describes how the "covenant of peace" will re-express the state of perfection which originally existed in paradise: "the wild beasts" will be eliminated from the land and the land itself will return to its former fertility and productiveness (vs.26-27)⁴. Hunger will be for ever eliminated (vs.29). In the face of such compelling love, the people will re-affirm their allegiance to Yahweh and respond in obedience. They will know that He is God and that they are the flock of His pasture (vs.31). Elsewhere, the prophets express the conviction that the "covenant of peace" will be established through the

1: Is.54:10;

2: Ez.37:26;

3: cf. H.Gross, Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament, Trier, 1956, p.61; J.Comblin, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.44: "shalom est un état de grâce collectif"; cf. Ez.34:29-31;

4: cf. Gen.49:8-12; Ez.47:1-12; Hos.2:24; Mic.4:1-4; Is.9:6;

transformation of the hearts of the people¹, so that they will no more depart from Him², and will know that He is the Lord³.

Thus, while the "covenant of peace" is reciprocal, resting on *D) S) W*, a balanced relationship of grace and response, it is Yahweh who is the origin of its strength. The old covenant could be broken and renewed for it was based on the demands of an external law. The eternal efficacy of the eschatological covenant, however, is assured for Yahweh has placed His law in the hearts of His people, transformed them and drawn them to Him. That which made the breaking of the covenant a recurring possibility has been eliminated: Yahweh has established true "righteousness" and unfailing obedience in the hearts of the community:

"This is my covenant with them says the Lord: my spirit which is upon you, and my words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your children, or out of the mouth of your children's children, says the Lord, from this time forth and for evermore"⁴.

In an equally real sense, this condition of covenant "peace", while initiated and sustained by divine grace, is expressed through and concentrated within the righteous witness of the eschatological community:

"Righteousness and peace have kissed each other"⁵

"The works of righteousness shall be peace and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever"⁶.

1: Jer.31:33;

2: Jer.32:40;

3: Ez.16:62; Is.55:3; Nahum 1:15;

4: Is.59:21;

5: Ps.85:10;

6: Is.32:17; cf. Ps.72:3,7;

Delivered from "violence" and "destruction", Yahweh's presence will be felt as an "everlasting light", compelling His people to serve Him in righteousness¹. The eschatological covenant is conceived, in a real sense, as a state of utopian "peace", a perfect theocracy, in which God's presence is for ever evident among His elect, who have been set aside to serve Him in perfect righteousness.

b) Peace and Righteousness in the Non-Canonical Texts

A particular emphasis on this paradise-eschatology theme is noticeable in the non-canonical texts:

"For unto you is paradise opened...rest is allowed; goodness is perfected...the root of evil is sealed from you; weakness is done away from you"².

The word "paradise" is used here in reference to the paradise in which Adam was placed and, in an eschatological sense, as a destiny for the righteous elect³. The same idea is found elsewhere:

"And He shall open the gates of paradise and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam...Beliar shall be bound by Him"⁴.

"And the captivity shall be taken from Beliar, [the souls of the saints] and turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord and give^t them that call upon Him eternal peace; and the saints shall rest in Eden...and it shall be unto the glory of God for ever"⁵.

1: Is. 60:17-21;

2: 2 Esdras 8:52-53;

3: cf. 2 Esdras 3:6; 2 Enoch 61:12; Mid. Berakoth 28, col. 2;

4: Test. Levi 18:10, 12;

5: Test. Dan 5:11-12;

In each case, the future eschatological era is conceived as a re-expression of paradise, the emphasis being on the elimination of evil, or "Beliar", and the perfection of the righteousness of the elect toward God¹:

"Ye shall be the people of the Lord and have one tongue and there shall be no spirit of deceit or Beliar"².

It is also significant that this state of eschatological paradise, characterized by the abolition of perversity and the perfection of righteousness, is qualified in terms of "rest" (2 Esdras 8:52), and "everlasting peace" (Test.Dan 5:12). For the elect, there is "eternal gladness and peace" in store, which means that they will inherit the earth and will "never sin again"³:

"And all their days will be complete and live in peace and joy; and there will be no Satan...for all their days will be days of blessing and healing"⁴.

The righteous will live in "peace"; all wrong will be destroyed from the earth, and the whole earth will wish to serve God in perfect righteousness⁵.

Hence, "everlasting peace" is a state of paradisaical perfection in which war and strife⁶, wrong and evil⁷ will be things of the past, and in which the elect will live in "everlasting uprightness"⁸.

1: cf. 2 Enoch 10;

2: Test.Judah 25:3;

3: 2 Enoch 5:9,7,8;

4: Jubilees 23:29;

5: 2 Enoch 10:17,16,18; cf. Test Dan 5:2; Test.Jos.18:2; 2 Enoch 10:22-11:2; 58:2-4;

6: Test Dan 5:2;

7: 2 Enoch 10:16;

8: 2 Enoch 92:4; Note the relationship of "peace" and "righteousness" in 2 Enoch 71:15,16;

The writers of the non-canonical texts understood the future era of "peace" to owe its existence solely to the intervention and presence of God. It is He who activates the religious life of the eschatological community. The "peace" of the elect is possible only "under the name of the eternal Lord"¹ who makes "peace" with them², by dwelling with them and establishing His reign in their midst³. Delivered from the threats of Satan, God's rule is for ever evident in the life and witness of the eschatological community, which serves Him in perfect "righteousness". The eschatological era will see the achievement of the perfect theocracy of "everlasting peace". Originating in God and being sustained by His grace, it is upheld, in an equally real sense, by the witness of "everlasting uprightness" of God's covenant people.

c) Peace and Righteousness in the Qumran Texts

During days of persecution, the Qumran community continued to believe that her future would culminate in "everlasting peace". This conviction was reiterated annually at the renewal of the covenant:

"May He lift His gracious face towards thee
to grant thee eternal bliss (or: "everlasting
peace": $\text{DSBY DSU})$ "⁴.

1: cf. 2 Enoch 58:4; 1:8;4:4;

2: 2 Enoch 1:8;

3: cf. Jub.8:19f: "Garden of Eden" = "Holy of Holies", the dwelling place of God. cf. Jub.1:26;

4: 1QS II:4;

The origin of eschatological "peace" is God¹. It is He who gives "everlasting salvation" and "perpetual unfailing peace"² in order to adorn His own glory³. His "sublime greatness shall shine for all the times (of the ages) unto peace and blessing"⁴.

The establishment of "peace" will inaugurate the perfect theocracy in which perversity is non-existent:

"Let there be no more sorrow nor groaning nor perversity (...) And may Thy truth shine out unto everlasting glory and happiness without end! (literally: "everlasting peace")"⁵

In the eschatological era, "not an evil man shall be found on earth"⁶.

"Righteousness" will be pre-eminent:

"When the children of perversity are shut up then wickedness shall retire before righteousness... and righteousness appear like the sun, the norm of the world"⁷.

This conception of the perfect theocracy is not a mere nebulous vision, but a concrete expectation, expressed in terms of the active life and witness of the eschatological community. The theocracy will be achieved in the life of the community for it will, itself, experience the state of perfection which God's "peace" brings. In a negative sense, this will mean "rest from the children of Belial", so that they will no longer stumble⁸. In a positive sense, "the times of peace"⁹

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- 1: It is the "peace of God" (1QM III:5,11; IV:14), which will come in the "time of God" (1QM I:9), at the time of His "visitation", (1QS III:14,15; IV:6,7; 1QH XIII:18); cf. 1QSb III:5,21; 4QSl 39:26;
2: 1QH XV:15-16;
3: 1QH IX:26; XI:26-27;
4: 1QM I:9-10;
5: 1QH XI:26-27;
6: 4QpPs37, I:8;
7: 1Q27, I:5,6-7;
8: 4QFl I:7-8;
9: 1QS III:15;

will bring a spirit of obedience and righteousness within the community:

"And Thou...dost direct my steps in truth towards the paths of righteousness ...towards the ways of infinite glory and peace which shall never end"¹.

This theocracy will be achieved also through the active witness and function of the eschatological community. God's "peace" will shine for all the times of the ages (1QM I:9), but will be realized through the "sons of righteousness", who "shall lighten all the ends of the world" (line 8) and themselves will bring into effect the destruction of "all the moments of darkness" (lines 8-9). "The peace of God" will come after the defeat of evil at the hands of the future people of God². Their return from battle will be a "return of peace"³.

The eternal efficacy and validity of the future theocracy of "peace" will be guaranteed by the eternal dominion of God's people over the powers of darkness and evil, in a reign of "righteousness":

"To enlighten the co(venant of I)srael with joy;
peace and blessing shall belong to the lot of God..
and the dominion of Israel shall be over all flesh
and righteousness shall rejoice in the heights"⁴.

The theocracy of "peace", characterized by the absence of evil and the presence of "righteousness", will be concentrated within the community. It will find expression through the community which will subject "all flesh" under its reign of righteousness. Righteousness will appear like the sun, "the norm of the world". These powers of

1: 1QH VII:15; cf. 1QS II:3,4;

2: 1QM IV:14;

3: 1QM III:11; cf. 1QH XIII:5;

4: 1QM XII:7-8; cf. 4QpPs37,II:5f;

supreme authority and jurisdiction, the community will hold by virtue of its election to a "covenant of peace":

"And Thou hast engraved for them Thy covenant of peace...(that the sons of light) may reign in all the times of the ages"¹.

4. The Spiritual Temple

In the preceding study, there was evidence to suggest that the expectation of the future theocracy is closely related to active life and witness of the corporate community in the events of eschatological history. It is not a vague and elusive expectation, but a concrete and corporeal vision, expressed in terms of the life of the eschatological community. An excellent example and extension of this view is to be found in the concept of the spiritual temple.

a) A Sanctuary of Men

The expositor of 4QFl I:1-7a quotes 2 Sam.7:10-11 and interprets this to apply to,

"The house which (will be built at the end) of days" (line 2).

"The house" is undoubtedly a reference to the new temple, as is indicated by the succeeding quotation from Ex.15:17-18 which in its complete form says: "the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established". An interesting qualification is added, however:

1: 1QM XII:3;

"He has commanded that a sanctuary of men be built for Himself" (line 6).

The DTX WTPD could be rendered "a sanctuary of man", referring in a physical sense to the material building of the new temple. Another and more plausible possibility is suggested by the wealth of temple terminology applicable to the community itself¹. Hence, it appears likely that the DTX WTPB is to be understood as a spiritual sanctuary, a "sanctuary of men", the body of "saints" (line 4), the collective body of those who have remained firm in faith and obedience².

This collection of texts and expositions in 4QF1 serves thus to present an important doctrine. The future covenant community will be a spiritual temple, expressing its worship in faith and submission to the rule of God, for ever emancipated from the influence of sin and perversity³. These expectations are clearly evident in the total context of the above passage. The quotation from 2 Sam.7:10-11 states:

"And no perversion shall oppress it again as formerly!"

This theocratic nature of the new temple is re-emphasized in the following line: God will reign for ever over the "saints"; sin and defilement will be banished from its precincts (lines 4-6a).

1: cf. 1QS V:6; VIII:5,9; IX:3; etc.;

2: Yoma, Fol.21, col.2, visualizes a new temple in which everything that might possibly detract from spiritual worship, such as the visible symbols of the ark and the fire from heaven, have been removed. There is no attempt, however, to spiritualize the temple concept entirely as referring to a body of faithful believers. Such a view is certainly evident in 4QDibHam IV, where a parallel is drawn between God's "people", "Zion, the Holy City", and "the House of Majesty".

3: This is, undoubtedly, a further extension of the sanctuary-community identification found elsewhere. cf. note 1;

Hence, the central focal point of Israel's future theocracy, "the covenant of peace", is to be the spiritual sanctuary, the eschatological covenant community¹.

b) Everlasting Truth

The sanctuary-community identification in 4QF1 means that any further description of the future theocracy, "the covenant of peace", is essentially a portrayal of the religious life expected to take form in the eschatological community.

After having elaborated on the conditions of peace which will come upon the spiritual sanctuary, the community, the expositor says:

"There they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the law". (lines 6-7)

He looks forward to a new dispensation when the old sacrificial system will be superseded by the sacrifice of obedience to the law. This concept of the spiritual cult, to be expressed through the life of the community, is often conveyed in the word "truth" or "everlasting truth".

In 1QS IV:19f., "the everlasting covenant" is understood to come into being through the extermination of "perversity" and the elevation of "truth" to a position of eternal supremacy:

1: That is not to say that the community understood itself to embody all the hopes and expectations associated with the eschatological sanctuary. The community continued to believe in a return to the city of Jerusalem and an eventual occupation of the new temple on Mt. Zion, under the leadership of the messiah and the anointed high priest. The concepts of spiritual sanctuary and new temple are not mutually exclusive or irreconcilable.

The result of this cleansing process by God's "truth" is that the community pleases God with "agreeable expiation" (לִרְצֹה בְּכַפּוּר נְחִיחָה).

1QS IX:3-4 links this to the expression "everlasting truth" and amplifies even more distinctly the implications of this "truth":

"When these things come to pass in Israel according to all appointed times (line 3) in accordance with everlasting truth, they shall expiate guilty rebellion and sinful infidelity and (procure) loving-kindness upon the earth without the flesh of burnt offering and the fat of sacrifice, but the offering of the lips in accordance with the law shall be as an agreeable odour of righteousness" (line 4) (כַּנְחִיחָה רָצָה).

The writer looks toward a future era when "everlasting truth" will be established within the community, expressed through a spiritual cult of obedience, fidelity and "offering of the lips"¹. The establishment of "everlasting truth" in the world will be accomplished within the religious life of the eschatological community. As the concrete embodiment of "truth"², it will express its covenant obedience through a spiritual cult, an inner disposition of the heart. A similar idea is re-echoed elsewhere:

"They shall circumcise the foreskin of the (evil) inclination and disobedience in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel for the community of the everlasting covenant"³.

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- 1: The association of נֶחֱחָה with spiritual worship is particularly evident when it is contrasted with "stubbornness of heart" (1QS VII:18; I:5), and is identified with "righteousness", "justice" and "humility", (1QS I:5; V:3,25; VIII:2);
 - 2: cf. 1QM XVII:8, where "sons of truth" is identified with "sons of His covenant". cf. 1QpH VII:10; 1QS II:24,26; IV:5; etc.;
 - 3: 1QS V:5-6;

We have seen how the "everlasting covenant" is characterized by a condition of "peace", the absence of perversity and the righteous witness of the community. We may now progress still a step further. The "everlasting covenant" is also essentially a covenant of "everlasting truth", expressed through the spiritual sanctuary of the "everlasting community", the embodiment of "truth". In this sense also, it can be understood as the fulfillment of the prophetic "new covenant", no longer resting on legal pressure or upon the paraphernalia of a sacrificial cult, but on a new disposition of man's heart, (cf. 1QS V:5-6; Jer.31:33). It is a covenant of "truth everlasting", no longer violated to be renewed periodically, but surviving within the "everlasting community" which expresses its allegiance in unflagging obedience: "I will give them a new heart and a new way, so that they may revere me always" (Jer.32:39).

c) Everlasting Knowledge

The spiritual sanctuary of the future, expressed through the righteous witness and unflagging obedience of the covenant people, will also be the scene of a full and complete awareness of God's presence. In their purity and perfection, the eschatological people will be prepared to share in the things of heaven and to experience the fulness of God's presence in a new theophany.

The supreme destiny of the elect will be the "everlasting covenant" in which they "will comprehend the knowledge of the most high"¹ and "will have understanding of the wisdom of the sons of heaven"². The latter are the angels³ who traditionally were thought to possess the knowledge of the hidden things of God which they were able to mediate to man⁴. At Qumran, the importance of this mediatory function of the angels is evident in the titles attributed to them: "the host of knowledge"⁵; "the spirits of knowledge"⁶; "the godly ones of knowledge"⁷; "the godly ones that exalt (His) true knowledge" (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ)⁸. In this "knowledge" of the angels, the elect are privileged to share. 1QM XVII:6 speaks of the appearance of the "great angel" who will come to "enlighten" Israel so that all the "sons of truth" shall be glad in "everlasting knowledge" (lines 7-8).

This concept of the community's acquisition of angelic wisdom undoubtedly developed out of its awareness of being in communion and in

1: On this question of "knowledge", cf. S.H.Siedl, Qumran, eine Mönchs-gemeinde im Alten Bund, Rome, 1963, p.121f;

2: 1QS IV:22;

3: cf. 1QS XI:8; 1QH III:22; 1QH f. I:1, f.II:10;

4: cf. 1 Enoch 8; Wisd.of Sol. 10:10,17,18; 18:15,16; 2 Esd.2:44; In the Old Testament, as well, angels are God's mediatory agents. cf. Gen.16; 28:12; 32:1; 22:12-18; Dan.9:21; 10:12; cf. J.L.McKenzie, "The Divine sonship of the Angels", CBQ 5 (1943), pp.293-300, (cf. p.298); H.B.Kuhn, "The Angelology of the non-canonical Jewish Apocalypses", JBL 67 (1948), p.226; B.Tsakonas, "The Angelology according to later Jewish Literature", Theologia (1963), pp.136-152;

5: 1QH XVIII:23;

6: 1QH III:22f;

7: 4Q51 40:2;

8: 4Q51 39:18;

consort with the angels of God¹:

"The people of the saints of the covenant.... those with intelligent under(standing...), who hear the voice of the venerated (being) and see the angels of holiness; of those whose ear is opened and who hear profound things"².

In 1QS XI:5-6, the writer speaks of the "wondrous mysteries" and the "knowledge" which have become his "everlasting possession" (line 7).

He then concludes:

"To those whom He has chosen. He has granted them a share in the lot of the saints (or: holy ones) and has united their assembly, the council of the community, with the sons of heaven" (lines 7-8).

Again, 4QSl 39:19 applies the blessing of one of the chief angels to

"All who know the mysteries of the perfe(ct)ly pure beings"³.

In another context, he refers to them as the "mighty in wisdom"; "the perfect of way", who are blessed that "(they may be) for ever with the everlasting beings" (lines 22-23).

Hence, the community looks toward the era of the "everlasting covenant" when, physically and spiritually, they will participate in the things of heaven. Physically, they will live in consort with the angels. Spiritually, they will share in the knowledge of the hidden things of God.

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- 1: All human life is under the influence of the things of heaven. Even the times for worship are regulated by celestial laws which govern the movements of astrological bodies. cf. 1QS X:1-4; cf. E.Ettisch, Op.cit., RDQ 2 (1959), pp.3-19; J.T.Milik, Op.cit., p.119;
2: 1QM X:10-11;
3: cf. 1 Enoch 106:19; 1QM XIV:14; cf. R.E.Brown, "The pre-Christian concept of Mystery", CBQ 20, (1958), p.437;

It is important to note the clearly expressed relationship between election to the "everlasting covenant" and the acquisition of angelic "wisdom".¹ The implications of this relationship become evident in the light of the following considerations:

(i) The angelic beings are closely associated with the new temple expectation². The description of the new temple is announced by an angelic personage³. In 1QSa II, the physical requirements of those who participate in the messianic banquet are set forth (lines 3-8a). Any kind of defect or affliction is to be eliminated from the assembly. The reason for these stipulations is given in line 8b-9a:

"The angels of holiness are (in) their congregation"⁴.

It is significant that similar bodily defects excluded the descendants of Aaron from service in the temple⁵. Again, the reference to the presence of angels, above, is interesting in view of the suggestion that the meal, celebrated here, is a counterpart of Ezekiel's new temple banquet⁶. Angelic figures play a particularly dominant role in the apocalyptic theme of the celestial temple⁷. Again, in 1QSb IV, the

1: cf. 1QS IV:22; CD III:13-16; 1Q34bis,II:6-9;

2: This angel-temple relation is already evident in the Old Testament. Yahweh rules from His celestial temple in the midst of his angels, "the holy ones" (Ps.11:4). The angels serve Him (Ps.103:21) and worship Him (Ps.29:1-2). They are also the guardians of the temple cf. Is.6:1-2; cf. H.Bietenhard, Die Himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum, Tübingen, 1951, pp.123-137;

3: cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.329; Barthélemy-Milik, Op.cit., p.29;

4: cf. 1QM VII:4-6; J.A.Fitzmeyer, "A Feature of Qumran Angelology", and the angels of 1 Cor.XI:10", NTS 4(1957), pp.48-58;

5: Lev.21:17-23;

6: Ez.44:3; This will be treated in more detail, below.

7: 4Q51 39; 4Q51 40;

priests are blessed to minister in the future temple, "the dwelling place of holiness" (line 24), "in the company of the angels of the presence" (line 26).

(ii) There is also a remarkably close identification between the acquisition of angelic "wisdom" and "knowledge of the most high"¹. To acquire "wisdom" in the company of the angels is to fasten one's eyes on the "everlasting being"², to hear "the voice of venerated being"³, to stand before God Himself⁴. Hence, to share in the wisdom of the angels is to encounter the presence of God Himself⁵: "God will come and all the holy ones with Him"⁶.

This revelatory function of the angels, in the context of the new temple expectation, is curiously reminiscent of Ezekiel's vision of Yahweh coming to dwell with His people in the restored temple:

"It shall be an everlasting covenant with them... My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God and they shall be my people. Then the nations will know that I the Lord sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary is in the midst of them for evermore".

The prophet envisages the new temple in a covenant context as the concrete symbol of Yahweh's presence and the indissoluble union

1: 1QS IV:22;

2: 1QS XI:5;

3: 1QM X:10;

4: 1QM XI:13;

5: cf. O.Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, Tübingen, 1960, p.132;

6: Zech.14:5;

7: Ez.37:27,28;

between Yahweh and His people¹.

Hence, the association of angelic "wisdom"; "knowledge of the most high" with the "everlasting covenant" in lQS IV:22 acquires new meaning. Within the future temple, and through the mediation of the angels, the eschatological community enters into the experience of a new theophany of God. He is no longer remote in icy splendour, but intimately present among His elect:

"Thou hast chosen for Thyself a people in the time of Thy good will..., and Thou hast renewed for them Thy covenant (founded) on the vision of glory"².

5. Summary

The present chapter has been useful in throwing further light on the community's understanding of the "everlasting covenant".

The eschatological covenant will be essentially a relationship of "peace", a state of paradisaical perfection in which perversity has been for ever banished.

In prophetic literature, the "covenant of peace" is maintained by and expressed through the righteous witness of the eschatological

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- 1: J. McCarthy, Op.cit., p.103 (n.23), referring to the presence of curse and blessing inscriptions on Mesopotamian temple buildings, concludes: "Nor are the Mesopotamian temples and palaces entirely foreign to the covenant context. They were concrete signs of a union between man and his gods".
 - 2: lQ34bis, II:5,6; On the covenantal activities and functions of the angels, cf. A. Jaubert, Op.cit., pp.194-195; cf. CD XX:7-8; Test.Napht. 8:4-6; Test.Levi 19:1-3;

covenant community. Similarly, in the Qumran texts, the future theocracy of "peace" is understood to be achieved through the righteousness of God's covenant people. They shall rule over sinful flesh in righteousness and righteousness itself will become the norm of the world.

This idea of the righteous witness of the future covenant people is sometimes expressed in terms of the spiritual temple, the collective body of the pious who, in their purity of character, represent the true worshipping sanctuary. Their obedience will be expressed through a spiritual cult of obedience, fidelity and offerings of the lips. Furthermore, this sanctuary of God's people "will comprehend the knowledge of the most high", will share and participate in the things of heaven and of God.

Hence, the "everlasting covenant" will be a relationship of "peace", "righteousness" and faithful worship, constantly maintained and upheld by the presence of God and His angels in the midst of the covenant community.

CHAPTER X

THE COVENANT OF KINGSHIP

1. Introduction

The preceding study has shown that the community understood the contemporary era to culminate in an eschatological era of "everlasting peace", a perfect theocracy, in which "perversity" would cease and "righteousness" reign supreme. This would be realized in and through the life and witness of the eschatological community. In its own life, it would experience the suppression of sin and the establishment of righteousness. Through its own witness, it would be instrumental in the elimination of perversity in the world and uphold an eternal reign of righteousness in a "covenant of peace". This expectation of final victory over evil and the constitution of the perfect theocracy of righteousness is closely interwoven with the theme of the messianic redeemer.

2. The Messiah of Israel

a) The Warrior-King

The community believed that God would , in the eschatological day of fulfillment, send a messiah from the line of David to be the

promised redeemer¹. In many aspects, his qualities and functions are those normally attributed to the warrior messiah². At the messianic banquet he takes his seat before

"The chiefs of (the tribes of Israel)...each according to his rank, according to their position in their camps"³.

He is the triumphant messiah who will be God's agent in the eschatological drama of judgment upon wickedness:

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- 1: The emphasis is on the divine origin of the messiah. 1QSa II:11 uses the form ܡܫܝܚܐ . Barthélemy-Milik, Op.cit., ad.loc., have changed this to ܡܫܝܚܐ , and read "when God led the messiah". However, one can leave the original undisturbed and read "when God has begotten the messiah", in the light of Ps.2:7. Cf. R.Gordis, "The 'begotten' messiah in the Qumran texts", VT 7, (1957), pp.191-194. M.Black, "Messianic Doctrine in the Qumran Scrolls", *Studia Patristica*, Vol.I, Texte und Untersuchungen 63, Berlin, 1957, p.444f. The same root, to "bring forth" or "to beget" occurs in 1QH V:31 and under a synonym in 1QH III:7. In the latter, it is with reference to a woman giving birth to a son. A.Dupont-Sommer suggests that this symbolizes the righteous community "giving birth" to the messiah. Cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, "La Mère du Messie et la Mère de l'Aspic dans un hymne de Qumran", RHR 147, (1955), pp.174-188. The passage in question, however, is too complex and too obscure to render a definite solution possible. Furthermore, the objections of others against its messianic intentions appear to be conclusive. Cf. G.Hinson, "Hodayoth III:6-18: in what sense messianic?", RDQ 2, (1960), pp.183-204. J.M.Oesterreicher, "The community of Qumran", *The Bridge*, 2, (1956), p.131. The messiah is variably known by the titles "prince", "sceptre" or "messiah of Israel". The title "prince" appears in 1QSa V:21; 1QM V:1; CD VII:20. In the latter and in 1QSa V:27 he is identified with the "sceptre" (ܡܫܝܚܐ) of Nu.24:17. This is one of the standard Old Testament proof texts which was commonly applied to the figure of the Davidic messiah. Cf. Test.Judah 24:1; Test.Levi 18:3; 4QTest.I:11-12; 1QM XI:4-6. Targum Onkelos has substituted ܡܫܝܚܐ for ܡܫܝܚܐ , "messiah". On the use of these messianic proof texts, cf. P.Prigent, "Quelques testimonia messianiques", TZ 15, (1959), pp.419-430. Elsewhere this figure is referred to as the "messiah of Israel" (1QSa II:14), the "messiah of Israel and Aaron" (1QSa II:12; CD XIX:33; XX:1; XII:23-XIII:1; XIV:18-19), the "branch of David" (4QPB 2-5; cf. Jer. 23:5).
- 2: Cf. 2 Esdras 12:32-33; Ps. of Sol.17:26-28.
- 3: 1QSa II:14-15.

"A star has journeyed from Jacob and a sceptre has risen out of Israel and he shall crush the temples of Moab and overthrow all the sons of Sheth"¹.

"He will rule over all the n(ation)s and Magog₂ (...and al)l the peoples his sword will judge"²

The unfaithful "will be delivered up to the sword when the messiah of Aaron and Israel comes"³:

"Thou shalt devastate the earth by thy sceptre and by the breath of thy lips shalt thou slay the ungodly"⁴....for God has established thee as a sceptre over the rulers (and all the peoples shall serve thee"⁵.

The messiah fulfills the traditional role of warrior-king, of God's agent in the execution of judgment upon the powers of darkness.

b) The Branch of Righteousness

The traditions surrounding the figure of the Davidic messiah are not complete unless one takes into account also the spiritual and moral qualities attributed to him. The Testament of Judah describes him as coming "in peace", "like the sun of righteousness", "in meekness" and "in righteousness"⁶. Other texts describe him as "a man working righteousness and working mercy"⁷. He will "turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord" and will bring "eternal peace"⁸.

1: 4QTest.I:12-13; Nu.24:15-17; CD VII:20-21;

2: 4QIs^d.I:5-6;

3: CD XIX:10-11

4: cf. Ps.of Sol.17:27-28; Is.11:4;

5: 1QSb V:24-25; 28-29;

6: Test.Judah 24:1;

7: Test.Napht.4:5;

8: T.Dan V:11; Test.Zebulun IX:8; 2 Enoch 38:2;

The messiah is thus understood as both military leader and moral-spiritual ruler. Both these functions are clearly evident in Ps.of Sol.17:27-28:

"The anointed of the Lord....will destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth, at his rebuke the nations shall flee before him... and he shall gather a holy people whom he shall lead in righteousness".

This passage re-echoes the words of Is.11:4, which appears to have been a favourite proof text at Qumran. Is.11:1-5 occurs in a fragment of the Isaiah Commentary (4QpIs^c), while, in another fragment (4QpIs^d), it is interpreted to refer to,

"(The shoot) of David who will arise at the end (of days)".

The same biblical text in Isaiah provides the background for the blessing of the messianic "prince of the congregation" in 1QSb V. This preference for Isaiah 11:1-5 is probably explained by the fact that it describes a messianic figure, not so much in his punitive aspects, as in his saving and redeeming functions. He will judge "with righteousness" and with "equity", "the meek of the earth"¹:

"Righteousness shall be the girdle of his₂ waist and faithfulness the girdle of his loins"².

These moral and redemptive qualities the community applied to its own expected messiah³. Again, 4QPB 3-4 speaks of "the messiah of righteousness", "the branch of David". This owes its inspiration to

1: Is.11:4;
2: Is.11:5;
3: 1QSb V:21-22; 25-26;

Jer.23:5 and 33:15, which envisage the advent of the "righteous branch":

"In those days...I will cause a righteous Branch to spring forth for David; and he shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In those days Judah will be saved and Jerusalem will dwell securely".

c) The Bringer of Peace

These redemptive qualities of the messiah the community expected to be realized in its own life. In 4QFl I:11-13, the writer supports his reference to the "branch of David" with a quotation of Amos 9:11, and then concludes:

"This tabernacle of David which is fallen (is) he who will arise to save Israel"¹.

"At the time of visitation", when the "messiah of Aaron and Israel" comes, "the poor of the flock" will be forgiven² and saved³. The messiah will be a "princely shepherd" over God's people⁴. He will come to give the community,

"rest from al(1) the sons of Belial who will seek to cause them to stumble"⁵.

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- 1: The use of Amos 9:11 is probably inspired by the word $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$, "tabernacle", which reminded the Qumran exegete of $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$, "branch", and led him to read, "and I will raise up the fallen branch of David". cf. L.H.Silbermann, "A note on 4Q Florilegium", JBL 78 (1959), pp.158-159; For other translations of this text, cf. J.M.Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrasim", JBL 77 (1958), pp.350-354; W.R.Lane, "A new commentary structure in 4Q Florilegium", JBL, 78 (1959), pp.343-346; Y.Yadin, "A midrash on 2 Sam.7 and Ps.1-2: 4Q Florilegium", IEJ 9,(1959), pp.95-98;
- 2: CD XIV:19;
- 3: CD XIX:10-11;
- 4: 4QDibHam IV
- 5: 4QFl I:7-8;

The messiah is thus essentially a redemptive agent, a bringer of "peace", one who brings release from the powers of darkness and evil. His advent will bring a certain finality to the present era. The unfaithful will be delivered up to the sword¹, will be eliminated from the "assembly of the people"². It will be the end of the "time of ungodliness"³. 1Q27,6-7, speaks of the eschatological era when "righteousness (will) appear like the sun, the norm of the world". This is curiously reminiscent of Test.Judah 24:1, which speaks of the messiah coming "in peace", "like the sun of righteousness". Again, 4QDibHam IV sees the era of the "princely shepherd" as an era in which there will be "neither adversary nor misfortune, but peace and blessing".

d) David Redivivus

The inauguration of the future theocracy of peace, effected through the figure of the messiah, will, in fact, signal the return of the covenant of kingship, the restoration of the Davidic kingdom:

"To bless the prince of the congregation who...
and for whom He will renew the covenant of the
community, that he may restore the kingdom of
His people for ev(er)"⁴.

The expectation of the restoration of a "kingdom" is inspired by the

1: CD XIX:10-11;
2: CD XIX:35-XX:1;
3: CD XII:23; XIV:18-19;
4: 1QSb V:20-21;

promise of eternal kingship given to David in 2 Sam.7:12-16. This promise the Old Testament prophets projected into the future in anticipation of a renewal of the Davidic kingdom¹. The Qumran community based its own expectations on this ancient promise:

"Thou hast chosen the tribe of Judah and hast established Thy covenant with David that he might be a princely shepherd over Thy people and sit before Thee on the throne of Israel for ever"².

Hence, the restoration of the "kingdom", above, is the renewal of the Davidic covenant and kingdom.

Not infrequently, in the Old Testament, this expectation of a renewed Davidic kingdom became the subject of messianic expectation and speculation³. God will restore the Davidic kingdom by virtue of His promise to David and will bring this promise to fulfillment in the "Branch of David", the messiah.

In the Qumran texts, as well, the hopes of a new Davidic kingdom were centered around the messiah, the David redivivus. In 4QFl I:11-12, the writer quotes the promise of 2 Sam.7:14f.:

"I will establish his royal throne for ev(er). I will (be) like a father to him and he shall be my son".

He then concludes:

"This is the branch of David, who will arise with the seeker of the law".

A restoration of the kingdom through the messiah is, in fact, a

1: cf. Jer.30:8-9; 33:6,16;

2: 4QDibHam IV

3: Jer.33:15; Test.Jud.24:5;

renewal of the original covenant of kingship:

"Until the messiah of righteousness comes, the branch of David; for to him and to his seed has been given the covenant of kingship of his people for everlasting generations"¹.

Originally, the father-son relationship between Yahweh and David was understood as drawing the entire nation in a covenant relationship with Yahweh². So too now, the renewal of the covenant of kingship is extended to include the entire eschatological community. The messiah will renew "the covenant of the community" and "the kingdom of his people". The eschatological "covenant of the community" will be a "covenant of kingship", a restoration of the Davidic kingdom, under the leadership of the messiah. It will be a theocracy of peace, a kingdom of God, resting not on political power and ambition, but on the righteous leadership of the messiah and the righteous life of the eschatological community.

3. The Throne of Zion

The preceding study has shown that the messianic kingdom is essentially a kingdom of "peace", a theocracy free from sin, one perfect in righteousness and expressed through the witness of the community under the leadership of the messiah. In a real sense, it

1: 4QPB, 3-4;

2: cf. J.L.McKenzie, "Royal Messianism", CBQ 19,(1957), pp.25-52;

is thus understood as a re-expression of those qualities of spiritual perfection which were characteristic of the original kingdom of paradise. This association of paradisaical "peace" and the messianic kingdom is by no means unknown in the Old Testament:¹

a) The King and Mount Zion in the Old Testament

In the sequel to Isaiah 11:1-5, the prophet describes the messianic era as a re-expression of the original conditions of paradise: wild animals turn into tame ones and live together in peace. The whole earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord (vs.6-9)². The prophet is explicit in localizing this messianic kingdom on the "holy mountain" ($\omega \tau \rho \omega \mu$)³. The latter expression is frequently used to refer to Mount Zion as the sanctuary and dwelling place of Yahweh, at which Israel gathers to worship⁴. Hence, the central focal point of Israel's

1: Originally connected to David (Ps.72:1,3,7; 122:5-9), it became associated with the "branch of David", the messiah (Is.9:1-7; 61:1f; 65:17f; Jer.23:5,6; 30:10,11; 33:14-16; Ez.37:24-26). The idea of "peace" is thus a central one in the Old Testament kingship ideology. The messiah is the carrier of those qualities originally attached to the idealism of the monarchy. cf. H.Ringgren, "König und Messias", ZAW 64,(1952), p.130;

2: H.Ringgren, The Messiah in the Old Testament, London, 1961, p.20,32, and Op.cit., ZAW 64,(1952),p.128, suggests that this may be an echo of the Adam-David identification, which lies behind Ps.8, the king playing the role of the biblical Adam, the representative of mankind. It is also interesting that the Talmud understood the letters constituting the name $\omega \tau \rho \omega \mu$ to refer to the initial letters of Adam, David and Messiah. cf. Nishmath Chaim, fol.152,col.2; cf. P.I. Hershon, Op.cit., p.325 (n.8);

3: Note the verbal parallel in Is.65:25;

4: Ps.2:6; 15:1; 43:3, 46:5; 48:1; 87:1; 99:9; 132:13; Joel 3:17;

future theocracy, the messianic kingdom of peace, is to be the sanctuary of Yahweh on Mount Zion¹. In Test.Dan 5:10-12, all these themes of paradise, messianic kingdom and Zion (Jerusalem) are summed up as forming part of one and the same expectation:

"And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of Judah and Levi the salvation of the Lord.... and the captivity shall be taken from Beliar and turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord and give to them that call upon Him eternal peace. And the saints shall rest in Eden, and in the New Jerusalem will the righteous rejoice and it shall be unto the glory of God for ever"²

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- 1: From Mount Zion flows a river (Ps.46:4; Is.33:21; Joel 3:18; Zech. 14:8), the symbol of life (Ps.36:8,9; 65:1,5f; Zech.14:8), the source of joy to Jerusalem (Ps.46:4; 48:2) and the focal point from which comes her "peace" (Is.66:12). From here, Yahweh repels foreign powers (Ps.48:4f; 76:5f; 46:6f;), establishes His rule and sovereignty (Ps. 48:1-14; 50:2; 110:1f; Joel 13:18). cf. J.H.Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's inviolability", JBL 82,(1963), pp.419-426; From this idea of Zion as the seat of Yahweh's jurisdiction over the nations, we get the often-expressed notion of Jerusalem as the eschatological centre of a peaceful world. (Is.2:3-4; Is. 66:12; Mic.4:2-3). This idea of "peace", however, is always understood as arising out of a spiritual movement of "righteousness". Jerusalem is "the city of righteousness", a "faithful city" (Is.1:21,26; Jer.31:33), and its destiny is one of "peace" (Is.32:14). It is the "quiet habitation" (Is.33:20) where all war (Ps.46:9; 76:2; Is.2:3-4) and sinful rebellion (Is.60:14) have been abolished. Violence shall no more be heard and the nation will be "all righteous" (Is.60:21), filled with the knowledge of God (Jer.3:14). On the relationship of "righteousness" and "peace" as being centered and concentrated in Jerusalem, cf. Is.1:21,26; Ps.72:1,3,7; 85:10; 122:6,7,8; 147:12-14; Mic.3:9,10; N.W.Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion, The Growth of a Symbol", in Verbannung und Heimkehr, FS W.Rudolph, Tübingen, 1961, p.239f; Also: N.W.Porteous, "Shalem-Shalom", TGUOS 10, (1940/41), pp.1-7; In the latter, the author refers, in particular, to the word play of שָׁלוֹם in connection with Jerusalem as the seat of the messiah. cf. Abraham Ben-Meir, "Jérusalem: Enfer et Paradis", Mélanges de Philosophie et de Littérature Juives 1/2, (1956/57), pp.235-249; A. Causse, "Jérusalem Terrestre et Jérusalem Céleste", RHPR 27,(1947), pp. 12-36; G.von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testaments, Vol.II, pp.166-179;
 - 2: The first hint of the New Jerusalem in (München, 1957,) (pp.305-309; the Old Testament is found in Ez⁴.4:1-2;

The sources of this Zion-messiah speculation originate in the beginnings of the monarchy. The motives which influenced David to select Jerusalem as the capital of the monarchy were religious ones¹. This is suggested by the fact that the centralization of the monarchy coincided with the centralization of the cult. The latter movement was marked by a transference of the ark from Shiloh to Jerusalem². Being the most sacred representation of Yahweh's presence, it was precisely the ark which attracted David to Jerusalem and led him to establish the centre of his monarchy in close proximity to the sanctuary on Mount Zion³. This correlation between the presence of Yahweh and the king in relationship to the sanctuary on Mount Zion is particularly evident in the psalms. "The throne of Yahweh and His anointed were inseparable"⁴:

"For the Lord has chosen Zion...He has desired
it for His habitation...There will I make a horn
to sprout for David"⁵.

Curiously, in Ps.132:8, the presence of Yahweh is represented by the "ark of might", the symbol of Yahweh's jurisdiction over the nations. Elsewhere, it is called "a sure defence"⁶, repelling the

1: cf. M.Noth, "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition", OTS 8, (1950), p.202f; GSAT, Munchen, 1957, pp.172-187; cf. N.W.Porteous, Op.cit., Verbannung und Heimkehr, FS W.Rudolph, p.237;

2: cf. O.Eissfeldt, "Silo und Jerusalem", Supp.ad VT 4, (1957), p.138ff;

3: cf. Th.C.Vriezen, Jahwe en zyn stad, KNAW, Amsterdam, 1962, p.3; M.Noth, Op.cit., GSAT, (1957), p.174; G.von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p. 45f; The latter suggests that 1 Kings 8:2 and Ps.132 display still-discernible traces of a "royal festival of Zion", celebrated each year to recall the foundation of sanctuary and monarchy as part of one and the same event.

4: G.von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.46;

5: Ps.132:13,17; cf. Ps.2:6; 78:68,70; Amos 9:11;

6: Ps.48:3;

intrusion of foreign powers¹ and establishing dominion over the earth².

From His sanctuary on Mount Zion, Yahweh establishes a reign of peace:

"His abode has been established in Salem,
His dwelling place in Zion; there He broke
the flashing arrows, the shield, the sword
and the weapons of war"³.

Hence, Zion, with its original limited geographical reference, has
come to be understood as the focal point from which goes out God's
kingdom of jurisdiction and peace to the world⁴.

This jurisdiction and peace is shared by the king, Yahweh's
anointed, who dwells in His presence⁵:

"The Lord says to my lord: 'sit at my right
hand till I make your enemies your footstool'.
The Lord sends forth from Zion your mighty
sceptre. Rule in the midst of your foes!"⁶.

"Give the king Thy justice O Lord, and Thy
righteousness to the royal son...In his days
may righteousness flourish and peace abound"⁷.

Hence, the perpetuity of the kingdom, its future of jurisdiction and
peace, finds its "raison d'être" in the presence of Yahweh, in the
sanctuary on Mount Zion.

1: Ps.48:4-8;

2: Ps.50:1-2;

3: Ps.76:2-3; cf. Ps.97:1,8;

4: cf. Ps. 36:8-10; Ez.47:1; cf. E.L. Ehrlich, Kultsymbolik im Alten Testament und im nachbiblischen Judentum, Leipzig, 1959, p.30f;

5: R.E.Clements, "Temple and Land: A significant aspect of Israel's worship", TGUOS 19,(1963),p.22f., points out the dependence of the land upon the temple: "Yahweh's holy hill was a symbol of Yahweh's land and to worship on the one carried with it the privilege of dwelling on the other". It is, undoubtedly, this correlation between temple and land which lies in the background of the king-Zion identification.

6: Ps.110:1-2; cf. Ps.132:8-10,13,17-18;

7: Ps.72:1,7; cf. Ps.147:12-14; 122:6-8;

b) The Messiah and Mount Zion in the Qumran Texts

In view of the king-Zion identification in the Old Testament, it is not surprising that the Qumran community preserved a recorded tradition which laid particular stress on the relationship of sanctuary and kingship and idealized the memory of the original Davidic kingdom as one of supreme jurisdiction and peace:

"Thy dwelling place....a resting place in Jeru(salem the city which) Thou hast (chosen) from all the earth that Thy (name) might remain there for ever... Thou hast chosen the tribe of Judah and hast established Thy covenant with David that he might be as a princely shepherd over Thy people and sit before Thee on the throne of Israel for ever... All the nations...they brought their offering to Thy great name, silver and gold and precious stones together with all the treasures of the land, that they might glorify Thy people, and Zion Thy holy city and the House of Thy majesty. And there was neither adversary nor misfortune, but peace and blessing"¹.

It is highly remarkable that the community, carefully avoiding the title "king" to designate David, used the title "prince", a term commonly applied to the figure of the Messiah².

In Ezekiel, the Davidic "prince" is the central messianic figure in the prophet's programme of the new temple within the new Jerusalem³. The prophet proclaims the coming of a Davidic "prince" through whose arrival Yahweh will inaugurate a "covenant of peace". It will be an "everlasting covenant", an indissoluble union between God's presence

1: 4QDibHam IV:1ff; Translation by G.Vermes
2: 1QSb V:20; 4QpIs^a, 2; CD VII:20; 1QM V:1;
3: Ez.44:3; 4:1-2;

in the sanctuary and the covenant nation.

It is highly likely that the title "prince" in the Qumran texts is similarly portrayed in the context of the new temple expectation¹. The application of this title to both, king and messiah, indicates that for the community the distinction between memory and expectation, between ideal history and eschatology, had become very slight indeed². In this passage, the uniting factor of ideal history and eschatology is the sanctuary on Mount Zion. The ideal conditions of the original monarchy, particularly that of the king's close proximity to the sanctuary on Mount Zion, became the ideal pattern of the community's messianic expectation:

"The branch of David who will arise with the seeker of the law and who will sit on the throne of Zion at the end of days, as it is written: 'I will raise the tabernacle of David which is fallen'"³.

A similar link between the ideal monarchy and messianic kingdom is effective for the community itself. When David reigned, nations came to "Zion", the "holy city", to the House of Yahweh's majesty, to glorify God's people (4QDibHam IV). So too now, the elect of God will dwell in the sanctuary on Mount Zion and share in the messiah's reign over the nations:

"They will possess the sublime mountain of Israel (and) will taste (everlasting) delights (in) His sanctuary"⁴.

1: cf. M.Black, Op.cit., p.153f; Op.cit., Studia Patristica I, Texte und Untersuchungen 63, (1957), p.444f;

2: It is in the light of these considerations that this text (4QDibHam) has been quoted in support of the community's messianic doctrines. cf. pp.212;214;

3: 4QF1 I:11-12;

4: 4QpPs37, II:10;

"O Zion, rejoice greatly! Appear amid shouts of joy, O Jerusalem!...Open (thy) gates for ever for the rulers of the nations to enter in and let their kings serve thee and let all the oppressors bow down before thee"¹.

4. The Priestly Kingdom

Thus far, we have seen that, in the best Judaic tradition, the Qumran community visualized an era of peace, a perfect theocracy, characterized by purity and righteousness. This state of utopian and paradisaical perfection would be established on Mount Zion, the focal point of God's kingdom on earth. This kingdom would be inaugurated by the redeemer-messiah from the lineage of David who will establish himself on Mount Zion. There, in the proximity of the sanctuary and under the guidance of the messiah, the community would express its allegiance to God in eternal righteousness.

This association of the messianic kingdom with Mount Zion was found to have its roots in the Old Testament. The close proximity of the king to the sanctuary enabled him to share in the powers of jurisdiction, the peace and righteousness, which emanate from the presence of Yahweh who resides within the precincts. Thus Ezekiel envisages a restoration of the Davidic kingdom, a future theocracy, consisting of a cleansed and purified people². Its eternal efficacy

1: 1QM XII:13-14; XIX:4-8;

2: There is no tension between ideal monarchy and future theocracy. cf. E.Hammershaimb, "Ezekiel's view of the Monarchy", *Studia Orientalia*, (1953), p.137; cf. W.Growkowski, Le Messianisme d'Ezéchiel, Paris, 1930, pp.32-38;

is assured, for at its centre stands the sanctuary, an everlasting reminder of Yahweh's presence among His people, a perpetual guarantee of their righteousness and obedience¹. In a certain sense, it is thus possible to speak of the messianic kingdom as a "Kirchenstaat", a temple state, not resting on political ambition, but drawing its strength and power from the presence of Yahweh in the sanctuary².

a) Kingship and Priesthood in Ezekiel

In an equally real sense, the future theocracy is a priestly kingdom, not only drawing from the sanctuary, but adding and contributing to its worship.

The most central figure in Ezekiel's vision of the "temple-state" is the "prince", the "David redivivus"³. While he is the messianic counterpart of Israel's first king, to a decisive extent, his political functions have fallen into the background. What does emerge is a spiritual leader who conducts the worshipping congregation into the temple⁴, receives their offerings for the temple and brings these into the "house of Israel"⁵. He remains, however, essentially the leader of worshippers and does not assume the duties of a cultic celebrant. While he is permitted to enter the vestibule of the inner

1: cf. Ez.37:24-28; 40:2; 43:7-9; Ps.84:5-7;

2: cf. H.Haag, "Ezechiels Beitrag zur Messianischen Theologie", in R.P.A.Miller, Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia, Rome, 1951, p.283;

3: Ez.34:24; 37:25;

4: Ez.46:9-11;

5: Ez.45:16-18;

court¹, eats in the presence of God², he remains at the threshold and observes the priests in the performance of their cultic tasks³.

The ultimate command over the congregation is in the hands of the prince. The ultimate command of the cultic act is in the hands of the priest. Hence, in an absolute sense, neither prince nor priest fills a position of precedence. Where there is question of precedence, it is confined to a particular sphere of duty. Whereas the priest acts on cultic occasions, the prince exercises his powers in his own sphere as leader of the worshipping congregation⁴.

Jeremiah's division of priesthood and kingship presents a somewhat comparable point of view:

"If you can break my covenant with the day and my covenant with the night, so that day and night will not come at their appointed time, then also my covenant with David my servant may be broken, so that he shall not have a son to reign on his throne, and my covenant with the Levitical priests my ministers...I will multiply the descendants of David my servant, and the Levitical priests who minister to me"⁵.

The prophet sees the future kingdom as the fulfillment of the respective promises to David and to Levi, the destinies of the monarchy and of the priesthood.

1: Ez.46:2a;

2: Ez.44:3;

3: Ez.46:2;

4: cf. O.Proksch, "Fürst und Priester bei Hesekiel", ZAW 58, (1940), pp.

5: Jer.33:19-23; cf. 2 Chron.13:4-12; Zech.4:14; On the (90-133; lateness of this passage, cf. W.Rudolph, Jeremia, Handbuch zum Alten Testament 12, Tübingen, 1958, p.201;

b) Kingship and Priesthood in the Qumran Texts

The importance of Ezekiel in the eschatological thought of the community is indicated by the use of Ezekiel's "prince" who, in the Qumran texts, is also projected against the background of the new temple expectation¹. Again, the description of the messianic banquet in 1QS^a II:14-20, the biblical origin of which is Ez.44:3, points in the same direction.

The meal, described in 1QS^a, is the messianic banquet, the eschatological counterpart of the communal meal described in 1QS VI: 2-8, to be celebrated when God has "begotten the messiah"². In Ezekiel, it is celebrated by the "prince" before entering the precincts of the new temple in Jerusalem (Ez.44:3). In 1QS^a, the "prince" appears under the title of "messiah of Israel", the leader of the eschatological congregation (lines 14b-17), accompanied by the high priest (lines 12b-14a) who, as supreme cultic functionary³, is given precedence in blessing the gifts of food (lines 18-19). This precedence in the cultic act of blessing is not unusual in a sacred temple rite, and does not necessarily imply a superior status of absolute priority or importance. The central meaning of the meal

1: This is evident in the messiah's association with Zion, the site of the new temple. cf. pp.220-222;

2: cf. J.F.Priest, "The Messiah and the Meal in 1QS^a", JBL 82,(1963), pp.95-100; H.N.Richardson, "Some notes on 1QS^a", JBL 76,(1957), pp. 108-122; E.F.Sutcliffe, "The rule of the congregation (1QS^a),II:11-12", RDQ 2,(1960), pp.541-547; F.M.Cross, Op.cit., p.90f;

3: cf. Chapter V, pp.104-108;

lies in the situation of idyllic harmony which exists between messiah and high priest as they perform their respective functions side by side in the new temple-state¹.

Hence, the Qumran community, like the prophet Ezekiel, visualizes a future temple-state, a theocracy centered around the sanctuary on Mount Zion in which messiah and high priest perform their duties respectively as leader and cultic functionary, in harmony and mutual co-operation.

5. Summary

The present chapter has taken us one final step further into the expectations surrounding the community's conception of the "everlasting covenant".

The anticipation of the future theocracy of peace and righteousness is quite inseparable from that of the messiah. He is the "prince of peace", the "branch of righteousness", who will lead

1: A detailed analysis of Qumran messianism, involving the complex problem of a twin messiah expectation, lies beyond the scope of our immediate concern. Supporters of this theory are: J.F.Priest, "Mebaqquer, Paqid and the Messiah", JBL 81, (1962), pp.55-61; K.Schubert, "Zwei Messiasse aus dem Regelbuch von Chirbet Qumran", Jud 11, (1955), pp.216-235; H.W.Kuhn, Op.cit., ZAW 70, (1958), pp.200-208; J.Gnilka, Op.cit., RDQ 2, (1960), p.396; N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 6, (1955), pp. 14-23; W.H.Brownlee, Op.cit., NTS 3, (1956), pp.12-30; R.E.Brown, Op.cit., GBQ 19, (1957), pp.53-82; Opponents of this theory are: W.S. LaSor, Studies in Honour of A.A.Neumann, Leiden, 1962, pp.343-364; M.Black, Op.cit., Studia Patristica, Vol.I, pp.441-459; Y.Yadin, "A crucial passage in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1QSa II:11-17", JBL 78, (1959), pp.238-241;

the covenant community toward and into its life of peace and righteousness. He is also the long-awaited David redivivus, who will restore the ideal conditions of the Davidic kingdom and will draw the entire eschatological community into a covenant relationship with God.

The eternal efficacy of the new kingdom is assured for the messiah will establish his seat on Mount Zion where, in close proximity to the temple, he will draw his power and strength from the presence of God. Just as David once chose the temple to be the centre of his monarchy, so too now, the messianic kingdom will be a temple-state, at the centre of which stands the sanctuary, the symbol of God's presence in the midst of His people, the perpetual guarantee of their peace and righteousness. There too, messiah and high priest will join their efforts and co-ordinate them into a harmonious unity, as spiritual leader and cultic functionary of the eschatological people of God.

PART THREE

LAW AND COVENANT

CHAPTER XI

THE TORAH COVENANT

1. Introduction

In chapter three of our study, we discovered that the covenant community of Qumran was modelled on a precise and detailed reconstruction of the ancient Sinai community. We have discovered also that this reconstruction was inspired by a covenant idealism and grew out of a typological understanding of covenant. Through this typological re-enactment, the community sought to re-establish the covenant relationship which had been violated through Israel's disobedience. In this way also, it sought to prepare itself for the ultimate fulfillment of God's purpose to be achieved in an "everlasting covenant"¹. In the desert, they would enter a "covenant of return" and renew true covenant allegiance. This renewal they called the "new covenant", "the covenant of the community" or, "the covenant of God". We shall now attempt to define more precisely the nature of these covenantal expressions.

1: R.Mayer-J.Reuss, Op.cit., p.52: "Der Gedanke, der die Qumrangemeinde erfüllte, war ohne Zweifel der, dass der Alte, durch die Vermittlung des Moses geschlossene Bund durch ihr Leben und Wirken wieder bestätigt wurde und so durch ihre Gehorsamstat der alten Bundessatzung gegenüber das wiedergutmacht werden sollte, was der Ungehorsam so vieler in Israel verschuldet hatte".

2. The New Covenant

a) The New Covenant and The Teacher of Righteousness

The expression "new covenant" occurs three times in CD and once in 1QpH¹. 1QS remains remarkably silent concerning this figure. A similar omission has been noted in connection with the "teacher of righteousness"². The solution was found to lie in the fact that 1QS VIII:1-IX:11 is chronologically older than CD and represents the literary product of the community, prior to its settlement at Qumran³. Thus, while the "prophet", mentioned in 1QS IX:11, is still a figure of anticipation, in CD his arrival was seen to be fulfilled in the "teacher of righteousness". A similar explanation must account for the absence of any reference to the "new covenant" in 1QS. While in 1QS IV:25 the community is still awaiting "the time of renewal" (נְשׁוּתָא דְּנִשְׁכָּחָא), the expositor of CD sees this as realized and established in the "new covenant in the land of Damascus"⁴.

The frequent association of the expressions "new covenant" and "Damascus" suggests that this covenant was understood to have reached its point of beginning at the time of settlement in the desert of Qumran⁵. It is not without significance that the expression נְשׁוּתָא דְּנִשְׁכָּחָא

1: CD VI:19; VIII:21; XX:12; 1QpH II:4;

2: cf. p.48;

3: cf. p.41;

4: cf. note 1;

5: cf. Appendix "A";

of 1QS IV:25, occurs in Is.43:19 in connection with the proclamation of a new beginning in the desert:

"Behold, I am doing a new thing...I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert"

The text of CD makes it clear that the "teacher of righteousness" was closely involved in the Exodus to "Damascus" and that, in fact, the establishment of the "new covenant" there was thought to have coincided with his arrival. The crisis of covenant, which lasted for "twenty years" (CD I:10), came to an end when God remembered the "covenant of the forefathers" (line 4) and called the "teacher of righteousness" to lead the new covenant community "in the way of His heart" (line 11). Again, in CD VI:2-7, the same activity of God (line 2) is associated with the community's exodus from "Judah" to "Damascus" (Qumran) and with the arrival of the "mehoqueq", the "teacher of righteousness" as the Mosaic mediator of the law (line 7). These associations of the "new covenant" and the exodus with the appearance of the "teacher" indeed suggests that the latter was closely linked to the "new covenant" and its beginnings in the desert of Qumran. As the divinely appointed mediator of the law (CD VI:7) and spiritual leader (CD I:11), it was he who assisted in the crystallization of the community during its critical period, defined its doctrines and lead it toward a new programme of covenant obedience.¹

1: cf. J.Jeremias, Die theologische Bedeutung der Funde am Toten Meer, Göttingen, 1962, p.9; G.Jeremias, Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, Göttingen, 1963, pp.164-166;

The implications of the "new covenant"-"teacher of righteousness" relationship can now be further specified.

On the basis of the textⁱⁿ CD, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the community understood the conditions and demands of the "new covenant" also to be closely identified with the life and work of the "teacher of righteousness". Such a view is largely dependent upon our interpretation of the text, CD XIX:33b-XX:1a:

"None of all those men who have entered the new covenant but have turned back and betrayed (it) in the land of Damascus and have departed from the well of living waters, shall be counted in the assembly of the people or inscribed in their register from the day תנ"ח תנ"ס 98X7 till the coming of the anointed sprung from Aaron and Israel".

The crux of the passage is in the phrase תנ"ח תנ"ס 98X7 . The form 98X7 is the niphal infinitive construct of the root 98X , "to gather". The entire phrase is usually rendered, "when the teacher of the community was gathered in", or, "when the teacher of the community died"¹.

In the Old Testament, the verb 98X frequently refers to the "gathering" or "assembling" of the tribal confederacy of Israel at a particular cultic centre. In this sense, the qal future is used in Josh.24:1. In 2 Sam.17:11, however, the niphal infinitive absolute 98X7 applies to the gathering of Israel before a particular person and could be rendered as "brought forward" or "presented" : "That all Israel be presented before you". In this sense of "to bring", the qal

1: cf. AS. v.d.Woude, Op.cit., p.51; J.T.Milik, Op.cit., p.60; F.M. Cross, Op.cit., p.168; H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.96; p.407;

forms יָבֹא and יָבֹאֵל are used in Josh.20:4 and Deut.22:2. Furthermore, the niphal infinitive construct form, which occurs in the above passage in CD, can also be used in this sense of "to bring": "Miriam was brought in" (יָבֹאֵל)¹.

In the light of these Old Testament parallels, it is not entirely impossible that the phrase $\text{וְהָיָה הַמֵּלֶכֶת יָבֹאֵל}$ in CD XX:1 is to be rendered, "when the teacher of the community was brought forward". This translation appears more suitable in the light of the following considerations:

(i) The translation "brought forward" conforms to the frequently expressed view that the "teacher of righteousness" was sent by God², to organize the community³, and to be the mediator of the covenant and its law⁴. The niphal infinitive construct has been used here to accentuate this conviction⁵.

(ii) The phrase $\text{וְהָיָה הַמֵּלֶכֶת יָבֹאֵל}$ occurs, in a slightly modified form, in the context of CD XX:13b-15:

"Now from the day $\text{וְהָיָה הַמֵּלֶכֶת יָבֹאֵל}$,
until the overthrow of all the fighting men who
turned back with the man of lies, (there shall
pass) about forty years".

The period of "forty years" is based on Ex.16:35 and Deut.2:7, where it refers to the desert period, following the Exodus event. In 1QDM II:6,

1: Nu.12:15;

2: CD I:11;

3: 4QpPs37,II:15;

4: 1QpH II:1-6;

5: A.Michel, Le Maître de Justice, Paris, 1954, p.270 : "Elle fut sans doute consacrée à l'enseignement, à la fondation et à l'organisation de la Nouvelle Alliance".

we have the words,

"(Behold, forty years (have passed) since our departure from the land of (Egypt))".

Again, in 4QpPs37, I:6b-7a, there is a reference to the final destruction of evil "at the end of the forty years". In the latter context, the "forty years" apply to the period contemporary with the "teacher of righteousness" for in II:15 he is referred to as a living person. This is also confirmed by the reference to the annihilation of evil "at the end of forty years", for in 1QM I:2f. this is to take place (cf line 6) when the "exiles of the desert" return from "the desert of the peoples". The period of "forty years" in 4QpPs37 is thus understood as being analogous to the forty year desert period of ancient Israel, at the end of which God's judgment will come upon wickedness. A similar idea comes to the foreground when we translate CD XX:13f. as referring to the arrival of the "teacher" rather than to his death:

"From the day the teacher of the community was brought forward until the overthrow of all the fighting men... (there shall pass) about forty years. And at that time God's anger will be kindled against Israel".

As in 4QpPs37, I:6b-7a, the expositor predicts a period of forty years from the time of arrival of the "teacher" until the day of judgment upon evil.

(iii) Both CD XIX:33b-XX:1a and CD XX:13b-15, are preceded by an accusation directed against those who originally obeyed the covenant but later grew lax in discipline and finally rejoined the community's

opponents in Jerusalem. Such accusations against backsliders occur elsewhere:

"The congregation of traitors. They are those that have departed from the way"¹.

"They are all of them rebels for they have entered the covenant of repentance but they have not turned from the way of traitors"².

"All those men who have entered the new covenant but have turned back and betrayed it"³.

"Like their companions who turned back with the men of mockery...for having despised the covenant...which is the new covenant"⁴.

Undoubtedly, it is the same body of men referred to in 1QpH II:1-2a as the דְּלִיָּל , "those who have betrayed with the man of lies", "those who have betrayed the new covenant" (line 3a). That they were contemporaries of the "teacher" is clear from line 2: "for they (have) not (believed the words) of the teacher of righteousness". Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that the expositor of CD, as well, refers to a body of sceptics who lived in a period contemporary with the "teacher".

(iv) The phrase לֹא יִרְשָׁנוּ , in CD XIX:35b-XX:1a, is preceded by the words,

"None of all those men who have entered the new covenant but have turned back and betrayed it... shall be counted in the assembly of the people or inscribed in their register".

The word "register" (רֶגֶשֶׁר) is based on Ezekiel 13:9, where it is used with reference to "the register of the house of Israel", listing those who would return to Israel from the exile (cf. vs.10). The expositor of CD has adapted this word to his own situation. In the

1: CD I: 12^b-13^a;

2: CD III: 4; My own translation.

3: CD XIX: 33.

4: CD XX: 10^b-11^a; 11^b-12.

text CD IV:4b-5a, there is a reference to an "accurate list", which contained "their names according to their lineage...and of the years of their exile" (lines 5-6a). The list contained thus the names of the faithful covenant members who would return from exile at Qumran and participate in the eschatological events "at the end of days" (line 4). The expositor of CD XIX:33f., in fact, is saying that none of the backsliders and sceptics of the new covenant shall be inscribed in the register which contains the names for participation in the eschatological "assembly of the people" (line 35) and which will be written during the desert-exile, the time of the teacher: "from the day when the Teacher of the community was brought forward till the coming of the anointed".

In CD XX:14, the expositor points out that the period from the arrival of the "teacher" until "the overthrow of all the fighting men" will be "forty years", analogous to the duration of the ancient desert period. This period, we have seen, was intended to be a time for discipline, for return to the law and for rededication to the requirements of the new covenant. It is then not merely coincidental that the writer has contrasted this reference to the period of the "teacher" with a description of the waywardness of the faithless of the "new covenant". He makes a special reference to this period of "forty years" in order to accentuate the seriousness of their offense. They have forsaken the law (XIX:34), have strayed "against the precepts of righteousness" and have despised the "new covenant" (XX:11-12). In

short, they have failed to use the desert period of "forty years", the period of the "teacher", for what it was intended: a time for discipline to the law and for rededication to the covenant.

Hence, we may conclude that the community not only understood the establishment of the "new covenant" to have coincided with the arrival of the "teacher of righteousness", but considered its conditions and requirements to be closely linked to this Mosaic figure.

b) The New Covenant and the Interpretation of the Law

The discovery that the "new covenant" is closely linked to the life and work of the "teacher of righteousness" is of paramount importance for our understanding of this covenant in the Qumran community. It serves to clarify a considerable number of passages in which there is a clearly established identification between covenant obedience and loyalty to the "teacher of righteousness":

"(The explanation of this concerns) those who have betrayed with the man of lies; for they (have) not (believed)(the words) of the teacher of righteousness (which he received) from the mouth of God. And (it concerns) those who betra(yed the) new (covenant); for they did not believe in the covenant of God".

Here, unfaithfulness to the "new covenant" is clearly identified with unfaithfulness to the "teacher". In CD XX:11-12, the community directs an accusation against the same body of covenant transgressors:

1: 1QpH II:1-4a;

"They will be judged for uttering words of straying against the precepts of righteousness and for having despised the covenant and the pact which they made in the land of Damascus which is the new covenant".

This accusation centers around the "precepts of righteousness" and the "new covenant". It stands in sharp contrast with the obedience of the faithful community members,

"who have lent their ear to the voice of the teacher of righteousness, and have not disputed the precepts of righteousness when hearing them"¹.

Here, again, faithfulness to the "new covenant" is identified with faithfulness to the "teacher". Furthermore, this covenant loyalty is qualified as obedience to the "precepts of righteousness", which is reminiscent of the "precepts of the covenant", used elsewhere². It is not altogether without reason that in CD XX:27-33a the confession, the cultic act of repentance and of rededication to the covenant, has been placed in the context of the command to obey the "teacher of righteousness":

"Truly, we have been wicked, we and our fathers by walking against the commands (or: "precepts") of the covenant".

According to the Qumran community, obedience to the precepts of the covenant and obedience to the "teacher of righteousness" are part of one and the same act of covenant loyalty.

1: CD XX:32-33a;

2: cf. 1QH XVI:15; 1QSa I:5,7; CD V:12; XX:29;

The equation covenant obedience-law obedience-obedience to the "teacher" is further amplified in CD XX:27b-28a:

"But all who have clung to those ordinances
going and coming in according to the law,
and have heeded the voice of the teacher".

The expression "going and coming in according to the law" recurs in a modified version in CD XIII:4. There it is used in connection with the authority of the priest (line 2) in matters of judgment and of interpretation of the law (lines 5-6: $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\phi\phi\phi\phi$ $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\psi\psi\psi$). The expression is derived from Nu.27:21, where the people of Israel are urged to abide by the judgment of the priest Eleazar. Here, in CD XX:27, as well, the faithful are those who have "clung to the ordinances (literally: "judgments": $\phi\phi\phi\phi$)....and who have heeded the commands of the "teacher". Thus, the same priestly authority in matters of interpretation of the law has been transferred to the "teacher". In the light of this, it is interesting to note a passage in 1QpH II:6f:

"They are the violent...who will not believe when they hear all the things which will bef(all) the last generation from the mouth of the priest whom God placed in (the house of Jud)ah to explain all the words of His servants the prophets, by whose (hand) God has told all that will befall His people".

It has been shown already that the community understood the "teacher" to be the "mehoqueq", the Mosaic mediator of the law. This idea has been confirmed and extended here. He is the authoritative exegete and exponent of that law, one who "explain(s) all the words of His servants the prophets". This interpretation has a certain

prophetic or predicator value. Through the "teacher", the "priest", God reveals His purpose for history: "all that will befall His people". The community has combined the priestly and Mosaic functions in the figure of the "teacher of righteousness". He is both "lawgiver" and "mediator" of the "new covenant"¹.

We have seen also that it was precisely this matter of the law and its interpretation which caused the crisis of the covenant and which led the community to secede. The authoritative position given to the "teacher" in matters of law interpretation explains why the "new covenant" became so closely linked to this figure. The community understood the "new covenant" to have been established with the arrival of the true interpreter of God's will, the mediator of the covenant, and considered the requirements of this covenant to remain in effect during his life time. Obedience to the "new covenant" has become identified with obedience to the law as it is expounded by the "teacher of righteousness"².

3. The Covenant of the Community

a) Community and Covenant

The expression "covenant of the community" occurs in 1QS VIII:17

1: cf. W. Grundmann, "Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit von Qumran und die Frage nach der Glaubensgerechtigkeit in der Theologie des Apostels Paulus", RDQ 2 (1959/60), 246;

2: It is noteworthy that the expression "new covenant" occurs four times. In three of these instances, it has been linked to the "teacher".

and in IQSb V:21, in the form בִּרְתָּהּ . We shall begin with the last-mentioned passage:

"For the man of understanding to bless the prince of the congregation who...and for whom He will renew the covenant of the community that he may restore the kingdom of his people for ev(er)".

The expression בִּרְתָּהּ requires our special attention. More frequently, the relationship between בִּרְתָּהּ and תַּנִּי is less direct and is only implicit in the general sense of the sentence. The new member who dedicates himself "to join the council of the community" is brought "into the covenant that he may be converted to the truth"¹. He "enters the covenant...by joining the holy congregation"². In fact,

"All who decide to enter into the rule of the community shall pass into the covenant"³.

The members of the community are "the members of the covenant of the community"⁴, or, "the members of the community...who cling to the covenant"⁵. Hence, membership in the community (תַּנִּי) is automatically linked to participation in the covenant (בִּרְתָּהּ).

b) Community and Eschatology

The word תַּנִּי⁶, in the sense of "community", has no real biblical

1: IQS VI:14b-15a;

2: IQS V:20;

3: IQS I:16;

4: IQS VIII:17;

5: IQS V:3; cf. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.35;

6: cf. S.Talmon, "The sectarian תַּנִּי - A biblical noun", VT 3,(1953),pp. 133-140; J.C.de Moor, "Lexical remarks concerning YAHAD and YAHDAW", VT 7,(1957), pp.350-355; L.Rost, "Gruppenbildungen im Alten Testament", TLZ 80,(1955), cols.1-8;

foundation. Most common are the forms תנ , יתנ , and יתנ , used in the sense of "together"¹, or "unity"². The nearest parallel to its use as "community" occurs in Deut.33:5, where it is used for "the gathering" of the "tribes of Israel".

Thus, frequently, the translation "community" has been looked upon as being misleading and scholars have preferred the rendering "unity", or, "communion"³.

In the Qumran texts, the term תנ carries profound theological overtones⁴. This is evident, not only in its relationship to קדש , but also in expressions such as, "the community of God"⁵, "the community of His council" (or: "counsel")⁶, "the community of truth"⁷ and "eternal community"⁸. In the latter expression, the strong eschatological implications come into the foreground. A similar emphasis is noticeable elsewhere. In IQS V:5, the "community" is understood to be laying "a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the everlasting covenant". In IQS VIII:5a, the "council of the community" is called "the precious corner stone (whose) foundations shall not tremble". Again, in IQS IX:6f., the expressions "house of holiness" and "house of community" are used interchangeably

1: Ex.19:8;

2: Gen.49:6; Ps.86:11;

3: cf. F.M.Cross, Op.cit., p.58,(n.44); W.H.Brownlee, Op.cit., ad.loc.;

4: cf. E.Koffmann, Die Selbstbezeichnung der Gemeinde von Qumran auf dem Hintergrund des Alten Testaments, Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1959, p.22; (Available on microfilm in Edinburgh University Library).

5: IQS I:12; II:22; etc.;

6: IQS I:8; III:6f; etc.;

7: IQS II:24,26; etc.;

8: IQS III:11;

to refer to the "men of the community". As has been pointed out, this building terminology has eschatological implications¹. The

תנ' is the preparatory stage before the dawning of the age of fulfillment. It is the "foundation", the basis from which will eventually evolve the עמ' העתיד, the eschatological covenant people of the "end of days"².

These theological and eschatological overtones, evident in the use of the word תנ', are particularly relevant to the passage under review here: "for whom He will renew the covenant of the community, that he may restore the kingdom...". It is not entirely without reason that the only other occurrence of the expression "covenant of the community" is found in the context of a passage which looks into the future and envisages the community going into the wilderness to prepare the way of God (1QS VIII:13f.). The expression "covenant of the community" applies then to the "men of the community", the "members of the covenant", who prepare themselves for the final consummation of the "kingdom".

c) Community and Study of the Law

The community believed that the "kingdom" would be realized within the "covenant of the community", the limited confines of the

1: cf. J.Maier, "Zum Begriff תנ' in den Texten von Qumran", ZAW 72,(1960), p.160;

2: 1QSa I:1;

community which had prepared itself through perfect and complete obedience to the law and the "commandments of God". He who enters the community declares "by oath of obligation to be converted to the law of Moses"¹, and he enters "into the covenant in the presence of God (undertaking) to act according to all His commands"². This highly theological tone of the term **יח** is particularly interesting in the light of rabbinic theology:

"A rabbi said that as fire does not burn when isolated, so will the words of the Torah not be preserved when studied by oneself. Another said that the learned who are occupied in the study of the Torah, each one by himself, deserve punishment and they shall become fools"³.

It is precisely this emphasis on communal study of the Torah which is expressed in the word **יח** :

"And let the many watch in common (or: in community) (**יח**) for a third of all the nights of the year, to read the book and study the law and bless in common (or: in community) (**יח**)"⁴.

1QS V:2 states that the "members of the community" dedicate themselves "to become a community in the law" (**יח**). They are the "Sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant...who volunteer together (or: in community) for His truth and to walk in His will"⁵. Elsewhere, they are called "the union of supreme holiness" (**יח**)⁶.

1: 1QS V:8; CD XV:2; XVI:1;

2: 1QS I:16;

3: Ta'an 7a; cf. C.G.Montefiore-H.Loewe, Op.cit., p.107;

4: 1QS VI:7b-8a;

5: 1QS V:9b-10a;

6: 1QS IX:6;

In all these cases, the word $\tau\alpha\gamma$ and its derivatives express the idea of "Torah fellowship", of a community bound together by a common dedication to the study and interpretation of the law.

According to rabbinic tradition, the fixed quorum for a community involved in the study of the law is ten¹. The reverberations of this idea are found in IQS VI:3-6:

"And they shall eat in common and bless in common and deliberate in common. And in every place where there are ten persons of the council of the community, let there not lack among them a man who is a priest... And in the place where the ten are, let there not lack a man who studies the law night and day".

Again, in IQS VIII:1, it is evident that the community, or the "council of the community", was responsible for the study and exposition of the law²:

"In the council of the community (there shall be) twelve men and three priests, perfect in all that is revealed of all the law".

1: Aboth III:7; Ab.R.N. VIII:11b. Cf. C.G.Montefiore-H.Loewe, Op.cit., p. 97, 436.

2: On the basis of IQS VIII:1 several scholars have suggested that the "council of the community" represented the spiritual nucleus of the community, the select elite, "who had undergone the training and initiation necessary to qualify them for the highest ranks in the sect's hierarchy". Cf. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.27. Cf. F.M.Cross, Op.cit., p.174; F.F.Brace, Op.cit., p.53; J.T.Milik, Op.cit., p.100. Others have conjectured that the entire community is implied. Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, Op.cit., p.122; J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.29; E.F. Sutcliffe, "The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A note on IQS 8:1ff", JSS 4, (1959), pp.134-138. Both schools of thought are able to provide sufficient evidence to support their respective positions: in IQS III:2, V:7 and IQpH XII:4 the entire community is implied. In IQS VIII:1,10 it represents an exclusive circle within the community. The solution to this dilemma turns about the question: how exclusive was this council? The following pertinent considerations may provide the answer

(i) No limits are set to the number allowed permission to enter the "council". Cf. IQS VI:13b-14a; IQS VI:18. The latter makes it quite clear that it consisted of all fully qualified members who had completed the initial period of instruction and preparatory discipline.

This strong emphasis on the study and interpretation of the law occurs elsewhere in an implicit and slightly varied form:

"For this reason, a man will undertake to be converted to the law of Moses, for by it all things are carefully taught"¹.

"And when once he has undertaken to be converted to the law of Moses...how terrible would it be for him to be(t)ray (it)! And all that is revealed of the law for knowledge... if he is worthy of it..."².

"Let him...be converted to the law of Moses... following all that is revealed of it..."³.

This period of probation will last for one year.

(ii) The reference, then, to the "twelve men and three priests", in lQS VIII:1f., does not refer to the entire membership of the "council", but to the "council executive", the administrative body of the "council".

(iii) The terms "Israel" and "the many" (רבים) refer to the entire community, including the full members of the "council" as well as the novices. lQS VI:8 describes the meeting or assembly of the entire community; this is also evident in line 1f. They eat, bless and deliberate in common, or, "communally". Hence, the figure of "ten men" in line 3 is the minimum quorum of fully initiated members, hence, council members, expected to be present at a communal gathering of the whole community. cf. CD XIII:1-2; This idea is also evident in a rabbinic tradition: "When ten people sit together and occupy themselves with the Torah, the Shechinah abides among them, as it is said, 'God stands in the congregation of the godly' ". cf. Abot III:7;

(iv) Frequently, the words "community" and "council of the community" are used interchangeably. In lQS VII:22f., disloyalty to the "council" is identified with disloyalty to the community itself. This can be explained only in the light of what has been stated above. "The council" consisted of all qualified members. This embraced almost the entire community, only the novices being excluded. Thus, while according to the evidence of certain passages, the "council" existed as an independent circle, the size of its membership was such that other passages could easily speak of it as "the community". Hence, for a theological study of these texts, the distinction is irrelevant.

- 1: CD XVI:1-2a;
- 2: CD XV:12-14;
- 3: lQS V:8;

This function of the "community in the law"¹ as the exponent and interpreter of that law, is often closely linked to the covenant. In CD X:6, there is a reference to the "constitutions of the covenant" (ס'בריה 'תוס'), which in the light of CD VII:5, can be read as "the instructions", or, "the teachings of the covenant" (ס'בריה 'תוס')². The members of the community are called "these sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant" for to them has been revealed the "law of Moses"³. In 1QS II:26, he who walks in "the stubbornness of his heart" is to be excluded from the covenant of the community because "his soul has loathed the teachings of knowledge". In 1QS V:11-12a, there is a reference to "all perverse men who walk in the way of wickedness". The text then continues:

"For they are not counted in His covenant: for they have not inquired nor sought Him concerning His precepts in order to know the hidden matters in which they have guiltily strayed; and they₄ have treated with insolence matters revealed".

This close liaison between "community" (קהל), "law study and interpretation" (שירתא) and "covenant" (ברית), amplifies our understanding of the expression "covenant of the community" (ברית הקהל).

"This way is the study of the law which He has promulgated by the hand of Moses, that they may act according to all that is revealed...And no man among the members (קהל השירה) of the covenant of the community who has turned aside

1: 1QS V:2;
 2: cf. C.Rabin, Op.cit., p.50 (n.6⁴);
 3: 1QS V:8-9;
 4: 1QS V:11-12;

from all that is laid down, in any way whatever, shall touch the purification of the men of holiness"¹.

Here, there is a clear link between "the covenant of the community" (ברית ה'חד) and obedience to "all that is revealed". The latter phrase re-echoes the words preceding it: "the study of the law which He has promulgated by the hand of Moses".

Returning now to 1QSb V:21, the passage with which we began this investigation, it is not without significance that the community understood "the covenant of the community" to be renewed through the instigation of the *šōšē*, or, "the man of understanding". Particularly in the book of Daniel, this term is attributed to a person, or a group of people, thought to possess the ability to penetrate the mysteries of divine wisdom and the gift to mediate this wisdom:

"And those among the people who are wise
(the "maskilim"), shall make many understand"².

Especially interesting is the use of the verb and its derivatives in the writings of the Chronicler:

"The Levites helped the people to understand the law...and they read from the book, from the law of God clearly; and they gave the sense (וְנִסְּתָה שִׁשְׁשָׁה) so that the people understood the reading".

In the Qumran texts, the Levites are often mentioned alongside the priests, but no specific function appears to be assigned to their

1: 1QS VIII:15,16b-17;
2: Daniel 11:33; cf. Daniel 2:3f;
3: Nehemiah 8:7-8;

office. A notable exception is CD XIII:1-6a. This passage specifies that at least ten men constitute a minimum, presided over by "a man who is a priest learned in the book of meditation." The same passage continues:

"And if he is not expert in all these matters, but a man from among the Levites is expert in them, fate will have wished that all the members of the camp go and come under the orders of the Levite. But if there appear in anyone case which comes under the law of leprosy, the priest shall come and stay in the camp, and the overseer (רֹאשׁ הַחֵט) shall instruct the priest in the exact tenor of the law".

In the light of the identification "Maskilim"=Levites in the Old Testament and "overseer"=Levite in CD, it appears that the "Maskil" of 1QSb V:21 is, likewise, a Levite. Also known as the "overseer"¹, it was his chief function to give instruction regarding "the exact tenor of the law" (הַחֵט הַזֶּה). It is this teacher of the law who is called upon to renew the "covenant of the community".

There appears to be sufficient evidence to conclude that the expression "covenant of the community" is applicable to the members of the community who prepare themselves for the coming "kingdom" through obedience to the law, and that it is related, in the most intimate sense, to their exposition and interpretation of that law.

4. The Covenant of God

a) Covenant of God and the Law

The expression "covenant of God" is, by far, the most prevalent

1: For the equation "Maskil" - "Overseer", cf. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, pp.18-25;

one in the community's covenant terminology. It may appear in the form ברית, or as ברית and ברית. Again, the community's conception of this covenant is inseparably bound up with the law:

"Let whoever comes to the council of the community enter into the covenant of God in the presence of all the volunteers, and let him undertake by oath of obligation to be converted to the law of Moses..."¹.

The "volunteers" are "the members of the community",

"Who volunteer to be converted from evil and to cling to all His commands...to become a community in the law..."².

This dedication of the faithful to the law of the "covenant of God" is sharply contrasted with the disobedience of the wayward:

"For they have walked in the way that is not good and have despised (Thy) Co(venant)...their soul has detested Thy (precepts) and they have not delighted in all Thy commands"³.

This relationship between the "covenant of God" and obedience to the law is also evident in the context of other passages:

"The sons of Zadok, the priests whom God has chosen to establish His covenant...who have founded (His covenant) in truth and heeded in righteousness all His precepts and walked according to His will"⁴.

"To bless those who fear (God and do) His will, who observe His commandments and cling firmly to His holy covenant"⁵.

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- 1: 1QS V:7b-8;
 - 2: 1QS V:1-2a;
 - 3: 1QH XV:18-19a;
 - 4: 1Qsb III:22b-23a; 24a-25a;
 - 5: 1Qsb I:1-2a;

b) The Covenant of God and Faith

The expression "holy covenant", quoted in its context above, occurs in Daniel 11:28,30. There, it is used as a general description for the religion of Israel, with no specific contractual meanings being attached to its use. It recurs in 1 Macc.I, where the expression has definite legal connotations and applies to a specific legal prescription. Thus, in vs.15, the transgression of the "holy covenant" is identified with the act of removing "the marks of circumcision", while, in vs.62f, it is linked to the consumption of "unclean food". In the above-quoted passage (1QSb I:1-2a), however, the specific legal connotations have disappeared. Instead of a particular legal prescription, it is God Himself who is now the object of man's covenant loyalty. To "cling firmly to His holy covenant" is to "fear God and do His will", to "observe His commandments" and "to walk perfectly (in all) His (ways of tru)th" (line 2). In each case, the words "will", "commandment" and "way" have been linked to "God" through the use of a personal pronoun. Obedience to the covenant of God involves obedience to "God", to "His will", "His commandment", and "His way", in a general and inclusive sense. The use of these synonyms for the law tends to accentuate the indefinite and all-comprehending character of this quality of covenant obedience¹.

1: This general concept of covenant obedience, as embracing the total will of God, recurs time and time again, particularly in 1QH. cf. 1QH II:22; 1QH IV:24; IV:19; XV:15; XVI:7; XX:18;

It is interesting to contrast this general understanding of covenant loyalty with the expression "new covenant". In one context, the two expressions "covenant of God" and "new covenant" appear to be identified. In 1QpH II:3b-4a, the expositor directs an accusation against his opponents:

"Those who betra(yed the) new (covenant); for they did not believe in the covenant of God".

There is one noticeable distinction between these two conceptions of covenant, however. The "new covenant" remains inexplicable without some knowledge of the mediating role played by the "teacher of righteousness"¹. Similarly, here, obedience to this covenant is qualified as a response to the "words of the teacher of righteousness" received "from the mouth of God" (line 2). Elsewhere, this covenant response centers around the "precepts of righteousness", expounded and mediated through this Mosaic figure². No such specific and clear-cut interpretation can be attached to the "covenant of God". Rather, in a more comprehensive and categorical sense, the text speaks of "believing in the covenant of God" and believing in His "holy name" (line 3).

Thus, while there is still a closely established link between law and covenant, between obedience and covenant, the specific and precisely defined connotations of this obedience have receded into the background. Obedience to the "covenant of God" is understood, in a more inclusive and comprehensive sense, as a spiritual disposition,

1: cf. pp.229-239;

2: CD XX:27f;

a religious attitude, which might be described as "faith in God"¹.

5. Summary

The preceding analysis of covenant expressions has served to elucidate some of the most important features of the community's most diversified understanding of covenant.

The underlying unity of these expressions, which controls and sustains the community's total understanding of covenant, lies in its attitude to the law. Thus, we have seen that the "new covenant" and the "covenant of the community" and the "covenant of God" are all closely identified with obedience to the law. This common theme of the law suggests that the presence of different covenant expressions is not representative of different covenant realities. For the community, there existed only one covenant: the covenant of obedience to the law of God. These expressions, then, have enabled us to observe this central concept of covenant obedience from different vantage points.

Furthermore, we have discovered that the "new covenant" and the "covenant of the community" are inseparably linked to the study and interpretation of the law, mediated through the "teacher" and through the community respectively. The "covenant of God", on the other hand,

1: The members of the community are those who "gathered" in God's covenant" and walked in the way of his heart (1QH IV:24), who "leaned" on His covenant (1QH II:22), who "adhere to the truth" of His covenant (1QH XVI:7); the faithless, on the other hand, have "fallen away" from His covenant (1QH IV:19;) and have "turned away" from His covenant. (1QH XIV:22).

expresses a new quality of obedience to the law, which we described as "faith in God", rather than as a specific attitude to the law revealed through the "teacher" or through the "community". It could be said that this quality of obedience, the spiritual disposition of faith, which characterizes the member's loyalty to the covenant of God, is the fundamental quality which characterizes all the other covenant expressions in the texts. Its categorical and comprehensive nature forms the underlying unity out of which all other covenant expressions derive their meaning. Thus, the "covenant of God" represents a quality of law obedience which informs and controls the community's total understanding of covenant¹.

Moreover, it can be said that the inclusive and comprehensive nature of this covenant reality embraces all other covenants which God concluded with Israel in the past. Thus, it was no longer necessary to speak of the Sinai covenant specifically, for this too, had been taken up into the "covenant of God". Through the particular religious climate of the community, the ancient covenants acquired a new meaning and came to express a new quality of obedience in the "covenant of God". This obedience, we have seen, is still intimately linked to the law. Therefore, if we are to achieve an understanding of this all-embracing covenant loyalty, we must attempt to gain a clearer

1: The very frequent use of the expression "covenant of God" in the covenant terminology of the texts indicates that it represents a concept of covenant which played an important part in the sect's total understanding of covenant.

insight into the community's attitude toward and interpretation of "Torah", the concept of law. To this end we shall now devote our efforts.

CHAPTER XII

THE COVENANT AND LAW

1. Introduction

Already it has been shown in some detail that the law occupied a central place in the community's understanding of covenant. It was the question of the study and interpretation of the law which initially brought the community into conflict with its contemporaries and caused it to secede from the traditional covenant community to settle in the desert. There, it would renew its allegiance to the law in a "new covenant", also called "the covenant of the community", or, "the covenant of God".

So much study has been devoted to the subject of the centrality of the law in the Qumran community that it will suffice to point out the main features in the form of a brief and general summary. Our chief concern is to extend this concept of law obedience and to discover what is precisely implied in the term, particularly in relation to the covenant.

2. The Centrality of Law

a) The Way of Perfection

Entrance into the community automatically involved the

requirement to "be converted to the law of Moses"¹, to "do what is good and right before Him, as He commanded by the hand of Moses and all His servants the prophets"². Quite often, this demand is expressed in a more general way as, to "practice the precepts of God"³, to "cling to His truth"⁴, to "act according to all His commands"⁵, and to "make no single step from all the words of God"⁶.

The use of לִּידֹעַ in these commands, expresses the unconditional nature of obedience required. The oath of obligation which one takes is absolutely binding, for its transgression cannot be tolerated:

"And they shall not depart from any maxim of the law to walk in all the stubbornness of their heart"⁷.

Apostasy and disobedience to the law result in exclusion from the community itself:

"Any man who deliberately, or through slackness, sins against the law of Moses, shall be expelled from the council of the community and shall not return"⁸.

Irrespective of that person's previous standing in the community, he will be ostracised "until his deeds are purified" and he, once again, chooses to walk in "perfection of way"⁹.

1: 1QS V:8; CD XV:9,12; XVI:2,5;

2: 1QS I:2b-3;

3: 1QS I:7;

4: 1QS I:11;

5: 1QS I:17; V:1,8; IX:24; etc.; The verb לִּידֹעַ refers to the $\text{לְעֵינֵינוּ$ the "commandments of God", rather than to the regulations of the community in particular, as in CD II:18,21; III:2,6; etc.;

6: 1QS I:14; III:11; etc.;

7: 1QS IX:10;

8: 1QS VIII:21b-23a; cf. lines 16-17, and CD X:3; cf. Deut.4:2; 12:32;

9: 1QS VIII:18;

The word "way" (דרך) accentuates the peculiar sectarian restrictions which are implicit in the community's law observance¹. The sectarians are those "that have chosen the way"², which is the way of obedience to the law³. The law is the "way" in which "the men of perfect holiness walk"⁴ (גִּשְׁרִי).

These sectarian connotations of the word דרך are even more evident when it is conjoined with the words אמת and רוח. The "way(s) of truth"⁵ is under the control of a divine "spirit of truth"⁶. The function of the latter is

"to enlighten the heart of man, and to level before him the ways of true righteousness and to set fear in his heart of the judgment of God... and zeal for just ordinances (or: laws)"⁷.

The "way(s) of truth" is the way of complete Torah obedience, pursued by the men of the community who call themselves, "the men of truth"⁸, "the sons of truth"⁹, "the community of truth"¹⁰, "the house of truth"¹¹. The use of the conjunction דרך - רוח is also common¹². The "way of

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- 1: W.H.Brownlee, *Op.cit.*, p.37, (n.34), calls attention to the use of the word "way" (דרך) as a designative term for the early Christian church.
 - 2: 1QS IX:18; (cf. Acts 16:17; etc.;
 - 3: 1QS IX:17; cf. CD VI:9-10; VIII:9; XIV:1;
 - 4: CD XX:7; 1QS VIII:12-16; Note the association דרך - אמת, cf. 1QS II:2; CD II:15; VIII:5, and of דרך - אמת, in the Old Testament, cf. Gen.18:19; 2 Kings 21:22; Prov.10:29; Jer.5:4; etc.;
 - 5: 1QS IV:17; CD III:15; cf. F.Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege*, p.79f;
 - 6: 1QS III:18b-19; IV:2;
 - 7: 1QS IV:2, 4b;
 - 8: 1QpH VII:10; 1QH II:14; etc.; (אמת אדם);
 - 9: 1QS IV:5, 6; 1QM XVII:8; 1QH VI:29; VII:30; IX:35; X:27; XI:11; (בני אמת);
 - 10: 1QS II:24, 26; (אמת דרך);
 - 11: 1QS V:16; VIII:9; etc.; (בית אמת);
 - 12: In the section 1QS VIII:1-IX:22, the word דרך occurs 21 times, in 10 of which, it has been linked to the word רוח. cf. S.V.McCasland, "The Way", JBL 77, (1958), pp.222-230;

perfection", or "perfection of way", is the way by which the "men of perfection" walk. This means complete and total allegiance to the "law of Moses"¹.

Hence, the "way" is the "way of truth", the "way of perfection", in which the "men of truth" and the "men of perfection" walk, not turning to the left or to the right, but responding to the law's command.

b) Perfection and Exclusivism

The words "truth" and "perfection", when linked to the words "way" and "walk", clearly indicate that the community regarded its own life as the supreme epitome of law obedience. The community alone has remained loyal to the traditions of the law and has faithfully pursued the "way of God"². The faithless are the 777 76, "those that have departed from the way", or, "the backsliders from the way"³. They have loathed "the precepts" (D'PIN)⁴, have departed "from the paths of righteousness" and removed "the bound which their forefathers had established"⁵, which is the "bound of the law"⁶. It is, then, on this unreserved obedience to the law that the community based its sectarian exclusiveness⁷.

1: 1QS VIII:21-22;

2: CD XX:18; 1QS III:10; etc.;

3: CD I:13; II:6; VIII:16; 1QS X:21;

4: CD II:6;

5: CD I:16;

6: CD XX:25; cf. CD IV:19; V:20; etc.;

7: M.Black, Op.cit., p.118-119: "It points to a cult of what may be described as sacerdotal, legalistic 'puritanism' or 'perfectionism', only possible in a monastic or semi-monastic order with ascetic tendencies".

The constant identification between "community" and "law" is grounded in a certain sense of superiority of its members over their Judaic contemporaries¹. This idea is well expressed in a much-debated passage: CD VI:2-4a. The expositor sees the unique function of the community as having been foretold in the Old Testament²:

"And God remembered the covenant of the patriarchs and raised out of Aaron men of understanding and out of Israel sages, and He caused them to hear... and they dug (וַיִּחְדְּדוּ) the well (בִּיאָה); the well which the princes (הַנְּסִיכִים) dug, which the nobles of the people delved with a rod (בְּרֹדֶף). The well is the law."

The reference to the "well" from Nu.21:18 has been identified with "the law": הַבִּיאָה הַזֶּה הִיא הַתּוֹרָה³. Moreover, the word וַיִּחְדְּדוּ, "to dig", is once linked to the "law" ("well" in line 3) and once with the "princes". The latter are the members of the community, "who went out from the land of Judah and were exiled" (line 5). Through the assimilation בִּיאָה - וַיִּחְדְּדוּ - הַנְּסִיכִים, the expositor conveys to his readers the idea that true and perfect obedience to the "law" is to be found only within the membership of the community⁴. Only within the limited confines of the community, the "men of understanding" (line 2), perfect law obedience is possible. The word "princes" has been used to accentuate the writer's belief in the unique superiority of the community over its Judaic contemporaries⁵.

1: cf. Chapter I, pp.12-13;

2: Nu.21:18;

3: The equation "well"="law", is a familiar one in Jewish exegesis. cf. N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 4,(1953), p.158f;

4: cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, Messiahischen Vorstellungen, p.69;

5: A similar device has been employed in CD VII:13;

c) Exclusivism and Study of the Law

From the above-quoted passage, it is possible to define more precisely the nature of this law obedience, upon which the community based its claim to superiority.

It is significant that the reference to the "mehoqueq", in the book of Numbers, has been interpreted to apply to the Mosaic "seeker" or, "interpreter of the law" (line 7: הַמְּחֹקֵק). This suggests that the verb חָפַק , which in Numbers simply means "to dig", has been linked to the "law" (בַּחֹק) in line 5, to be understood in the symbolic sense of "to study", or "to expound". This means that the community's claim to exclusivism and superiority rests on its study and interpretation of the law (הַחֹק). This suggestion appears confirmed in line 6-7a:

"God called all of them princes, for they sought Him (הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ) and that which they dug was not disputed by the mouth of anyone"¹.

- 1: The text reads: $\text{וְלֹא הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ בְּפִי אִישׁ מֵאֶחָד מֵהֶם}$. Literally, it means: "And their branch (בְּפִי) was not rejected by the mouth of anyone". The majority of scholars have attempted to break through the obscurity of this phrase by emending הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ to הִתְפַּאֲרוּ , "their glory", or, "their fame". cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p. 131; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 102; On the basis of Nu. 23: 20, CD XX:32b-33a; 1QS V:15; VI:25, C. Rabin, Op.cit., p. 22, reads: $\text{וְלֹא הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ}$ as a hophal of חָפַק , and renders the entire phrase: "And their fame was not rejected by the mouth of anyone". The emendation is a questionable one for the phrase, thus rendered, is wholly inconsistent with the frequent references to the persecutions of the community, which show, in fact, that its fame and glory was disputed. A. S. v. d. Woude, Messianischen Vorstellungen, p. 68 suggests a solution which, not only conforms more plausibly to the grammatical principles involved, but renders the entire phrase more intelligible. He suggests that הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ is to read הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ . The possibility of the confusion of the ח with the כ is pointed out in 1QS VI:11, where we have כָּכָה instead of חָכָה . Furthermore, the LXX and Vulgate renditions of Ps. 22:17, have used the form חָכָה for כָּכָה , "to dig".
- equivalent

It is then only within the limited membership of the community that true obedience and study of the law is to be found. All of them are "princes" for they "sought Him" through a systematic and disciplined study of His law.

3. The Study of the Law

a) The Cult and the Study of the Law

"I will exile the 'Sikkuth' of your king and the ~~the~~ 'Kiyyun' of your images from my tent to (סמך)¹⁰ Damascus. The books of the law are the hut (sukkath) of the king...the king is the assembly (or: congregation) and the faithfulness (kewan) of the images is the books of the prophets whose words Israel has despised"¹.

The writer bases his exegesis on Amos 5:26-27. The exposition is a good example of an ability to manipulate biblical material to conform to a particular end. In the context of Amos, the citation conveys a threat of impending judgment. By changing certain key words and by attaching to them a symbolic interpretation, the expositor has transformed this threat into a message of hope. The law and the prophets have become the property of the community ("king"="congregation"). Furthermore, the law and the prophets are said to have been exiled

: Hence, the word סמך could also mean "that which they have dug", referring to the study of the law, as in line 3f. The entire phrase is to read, "and that which they dug was not disputed by the mouth of anyone". i.e., the law, as expounded by the community, was exempt from criticism by its members ("the mouth of anyone").

¹: CD VII:15-18a;

"from my tent" (סֶדֶק) to Damascus" (line 15). The expression "from my tent" (סֶדֶק) has been substituted for "from beyond" (מֵעַל) of the MT. This method of substitution is a typical exegetical procedure which betrays the theological interests of the expositor¹. What are these theological interests?

There can be little doubt that the words "from my tent" refer to the "tent of meeting", the symbolic name for the temple at Jerusalem².

- 1: In the same line, the word מִן־הַמִּדְבָּר has been inserted to replace מֵעַל , in order to accentuate the writer's interest in the exile. For a more detailed study of this exegetical procedure, cf. B.Gärtner, "The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew", ST 8, (1955), pp.
- 2: In the Old Testament, the מִן־הַמִּדְבָּר figures predominantly in (1-24; the accounts of the Priestly writer of the Pentateuch, cf. A.Kuschke, "Die Lagervorstellung der priesterlichen Erzählung", ZAW 63, (1951), p. 81; It represents the ancient worship centre for the tribal league of Israel, cf. H.J.Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, München, 1954, p.28; Here, God's presence was revealed to Israel through Moses (Ex.33:7f), and here Israel saw Yahweh "face to face" (Ex.33:11). The ark of the covenant was closely connected to this cultic shrine, cf. G.von Rad, Zelt und Lade, NKZ 42, 1931 Its "Sitz im Leben" (background) appears to have been Shiloh, cf. 1 Sam.3:3; 2:22; Josh.18:1,51; Ps.78:60; Through the course of progress, the cult at Shiloh underwent radical transformations until the "tent of meeting" was eventually replaced by the temple, cf. 1 Sam.2:22; 3:3; H.J.Kraus, Op.cit., p.36; While, during the monarchy the Jerusalem temple occupied the centre of religious worship in Israel, the ancient traditions of the "tent of meeting" remained alive, (cf. 2 Sam.6:17), so that, in fact, the temple itself could be referred to as a "tent". e.g. Is.33:20:

"Look upon Zion, the city of our appointed feasts;
Your eyes will see Jerusalem, a quiet habitation, an
immovable tent, whose stakes will never be plucked up".

cf. Ps. 15:1; 61:5; 27:5,6; Jer.10:20; Ez.41:1; Just as had once been the case in the "tent of meeting", so too in the temple, the "Holy of Holies" was separated from the outer court by a veil. cf. J.Morgenstern, The Ark, the Ephod, and the Tent of Meeting, Cincinnati, 1945, p.153; "The 'Holy of Holies' within the tabernacle in the wilderness and in the later temple at Jerusalem was actually regarded basically as a tent or tent-shrine". Hence, the expositor of CD VII:15-18a is referring to the Jerusalem temple, cf. A.S.v.d.Woude, Messianischen Vorstellungen, p.50: "Damit kann nur Gottes Zelt, d.h. Gottes Heiligtum in Jerusalem gemeint sein".

S.Lieberman informs us that, according to a midrashic work by Rabbi Eleazar, the law remained sealed ($\eta\beta\sigma\iota\sigma\delta$) from the time it was given on Mount Sinai and, therefore, because it had not been promulgated in a public place of worship, it had lost its effectiveness as a law¹. It is evident from CD V:2-3 that the community was familiar with this tradition. The sins which king David committed are justifiable,

"For David did not read the sealed book of the law which was in the ark (of the covenant)"².

Again, according to the same rabbinic tradition, Israel was regarded as unaccountable for her errors because the law had not been expounded before the people in the "tent of meeting"³.

The relationship between the law and the necessity of its promulgation enables us to understand the expositor's intentions in stating that the law and the prophets have been "exiled" from the "tent" to Qumran ("Damascus"). The community at Qumran has come to replace the temple of Jerusalem as the cultic centre, "the tent of meeting", for the exposition and public promulgation of the law and the prophets. The words, "from my tent to Damascus" have been substituted to accentuate the conviction that God has removed His media of revelation from the "tent" of Jerusalem and has given them a more worthy place in the "tent" of Qumran ("Damascus").

It is this interpretation of the cultic sanctuary as the centre for the study and exposition of the law which led the expositor to

1: S.Lieberman, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, New York, 1950, p.200;

2: The word used for "sealed" is $\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$;

3: S.Lieberman, Op.cit., p.200;

reiterate the words of Amos 9:11, "I will raise up the hut (or tabernacle) of David which is fallen" (line 16). It probably also inspired the writer of IQS to speak of the community in terms of a "sanctuary"¹. Finally, this idea is wholly in conformity with our previously established conclusion that the expressions ברת and ברת apply to the members of the community, dedicated "in unity" to the study and exposition of the law².

b) The Study of the Law and its Exposition

The emphasis upon both the study of the law and its public exposition is particularly evident in the use of the expression שדרה . In this form, it occurs three times in IQS and once in CD³. Traditionally, the term שדרה refers to the presence of a collection of biblical commentaries. In 2 Chron.24:27 and 13:22, there is a reference to a "commentary (שדרה) on the book of Kings" and a "commentary of the prophet Iddo". In the Qumran texts, this technical sense of the word שדרה is found wanting⁴. Rather, the root שדר

1: cf. IQS VIII:5,11; IX:6; cf. Chapter IX, pp.196-197;

2: The occurrence of expressions such as ברת השדרה (CD XX:10,13) and ברת השדרה (IQS V:2), has led M.Delcor to suggest that the community existed as a ברת השדרה, "une véritable école d'exégèse". M.Delcor, "Contribution à l'Etude de la Législation des Sectaires de Damas et de Qumran", RB 62, (1955), p.72;

3: IQS VI:24; VIII:15,26; CD XX:6;

4: The word שדרה is never used to refer to a body of halakah. Nevertheless, some scholars have identified the Qumran commentaries as midrashim. cf. J.v.d.Ploeg, Op.cit., KNAW, Afdeling Letterkunde 23, (1960), p.5f; J.M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrasim", JBL 77, (1958), pp.350-354; A notable exception is G.Vermes, "A propos des Commentaires bibliques découverts à Qumran", RHPR 35, (1955), p.96;

indicates that this $\psi\tau\delta$ has a somewhat distinctive character.

Frequently, $\psi\tau$ is used in a general sense as "seeking God"¹ or "seeking His good pleasure"². This "seeking", however, is never divorced from the law. God is sought in "His precepts"³, or by adhering to the commands given "by the hand of Moses and all His servants the prophets"⁴. The activity involved in $\psi\tau$ is grounded in the law, recorded and laid down in scripture⁵. Consequently, the absolute $\psi\tau\delta$ can be translated as "law examination" or "study of the law". In this sense, it is used in 1QS VIII:15,

"The study of the law which He has promulgated by the hand of Moses, that they may act according to all that is revealed season by season, and according to that which the prophets have revealed".

A further study of the root $\psi\tau$ reveals that this "study of the law", mediated through scripture, has a certain predicated character, the emphasis being on its oral and public exposition:

"And in the place where the ten are, let there not lack a man who studies the law ($\psi\tau\delta$ $\psi\chi$) night and day, continually, concerning the duties of each towards the other. And let the many watch in common for a third of all the nights of the year, to read the book and study the law (or: and expound laws) and bless in common...And let them likewise inquire concerning

1: 1QH IV:6,14; V:24;

2: 1QS V:9;

3: 1QS V:11;

4: 1QS I:1-3;

5: M.Delcor, Op.cit., RB 62, (1955), p.67: "On y trouve les acceptions de l'époque exilienne et postexilienne où l'on se tournait vers l'écriture pour y trouver Dieu".

"the law and concerning every kind of counsel and matter to do with the many, each man bringing his knowledge to the council of the community"¹.

The phrase "to read the book and study the law" (69 08 0775) in line 7 is particularly interesting. In 1Q29,V:2, the root 077 refers to the priestly function of "explaining", or, "expounding God's will to the whole assembly" (077 08 0775). In 1QS VIII:23, the "laws" (0'6908) are "interpreted" or "explained" (077) to one who has transgressed the law of Moses. Thus, while the expression 0775 refers to the "study" and "investigation" of the law, to an equal degree it expresses the act of the public exposition of that law. Study and proclamation form an inseparable unity. The community is, in the truest sense, a Torah fellowship in which each member contributes his knowledge

1: 1QS VI:6-8a; 9-10a; The expression 077 0775 literally means, "a man who expounds", or "interpreter". It is possible that this was an official title given to the "overseer", whose chief functions lay in the field of examination and instruction. Elsewhere, we have linked this figure to the "Maskil" as distinguished from the "priest" whose duties were mainly of a ritualistic and sacramental nature. cf. p.248; On the basis of 1QS VI:2-8, it has been assumed that the 077 0775 is the "priest", referred to in line 3, who presides over "the ten". cf. M.Delcor, Op.cit., RB 62,(1955), p.67; In CD XIII:2b-6a, however, it appears that not one but two were present. In line 5b-6a, it is the "overseer" who instructs the priest in the "exact tenor of the law". No teaching duties are assigned to the priest. He simply applies and enforces the law and is not responsible for its interpretation. (cf. line 6-7; A.Dupont-Sommer, Op.cit., p.156,(n.7);) The priest also recited the blessing over the meals (1QS VI:5f) and at the covenant renewal (1QS II:1). Hence his responsibilities were in the field of ritual and sacrament. The "overseer", on the other hand, examines new applicants for admission (1QS VI:14) and occupies a position of authority when the "many" assemble for deliberation on the law (1QS VI:11-12a). It appears, then, that the functions of ritual or sacrament and law interpretation were devoted to the priest and Levite, respectively. It is possible, then, to conjecture that the 077 0775, referred to above, is the Levitical "overseer", endowed with the gift of divine wisdom and the ability to teach it.

of the law to the common store of halakic knowledge.

c) Exposition and Mishpatim

The question arises: "What was the content of this Torah study-exposition?".

It is significant that the above-cited passage, 1QS VI:6-8a, speaks of 69WS 11775, "to expound laws". A similar link between such "exposition" and "mishpatim" is evident elsewhere: 1QSa I:2 speaks of the "sons of Zadok", the priests, "who keep His covenant" (line 3) and then continues:

"They shall gather them all together...and shall read into (their) ea(rs) all the precepts of the covenant and shall instruct (or "expound", 1177) to them in all their mishpatim"¹.

Not infrequently, the verb 767, "to instruct", is used. The "overseer" is called upon

"to impart true knowledge and righteous mishpat to those who have chosen the way...and shall thus instruct them in the mysteries of marvellous truth"².

The faithless one, on the other hand, is he who

"detests the wise teaching of just mishpatim"³.

Hence, the "mishpat" is understood as a norm of knowledge received through instruction. The function of the "spirit of truth" is

"to enlighten the heart of man ...and (to it belong) zeal for just mishpatim"⁴.

1: 1QSa I: 4-5; cf. 1QS VIII:23; 1QSB III:23-25a;

2: 1QS IX:18;

3: 1QS III:1; cf. 1QS III:6;

4: 1QS IV:2,4;

The community itself possesses.

"Everlasting knowledge of the covenant of mishpat"¹.

What, then, is precisely implied in the word "mishpat"? A passage in 1QSa guides us to the answer:

"They shall join (the community to walk in obedience to the mishpat of the sons of Zadok... and shall read...all the precepts of the covenant and shall instruct them in all their mishpatim"².

The expression "the mishpat of the sons of Zadok" requires further clarification. The "sons of Zadok" were understood to be the chosen recipients of God's revelation³. They are "perfect in all that is revealed of all the law"⁴. Thus, when the novice enters the community, he turns to the "law of Moses", "following all that is revealed of it to the sons of Zadok"⁵. It is upon this revelation that their authority in the community is founded. Moreover, it is significant that this authority is elsewhere understood to rest upon "law" and "mishpatim":

"The sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of mishpat and property, and it is under their authority that fate shall be decreed in every decision"⁶.

"Under the authority of the sons of Zadok... Under their authority shall destiny be decreed in all things, whether it concern the law, or property, or mishpatim"⁷.

1: 1QS VIII:9;

2: 1QSa I:1b-2a; 4-5;

3: 1QSa V:8; The "sons of Zadok" applies to the priests as well as to the Levites in the community. cf. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.18; This is also confirmed in 4QFl I:16, where Ezekiel 44:10 is cited: "The Levites strayed from me". This the expositor understood to refer to the "sons of Zadok" who departed from the way of the community. cf.

4: 1QS VIII:1;

5: 1QS V:8-9;

6: 1QS IX:7;

7: 1QS V:2b-3a;

(line 17;

Here, clearly, the "mishpatim" are understood as that which has been received through "revelation" or "according to the divinely guided decision"¹. It is to these decisions that the community member dedicates himself: "They shall join (the community to wal)k in obedience to the mishpat of the sons of Zadok" (1QSa I:1).

We are now in a position to specify what is implied in the expression מִשְׁפָּטִים לְפָנָיו, "to expound mishpatim". This "instruction" or "exposition" of the "mishpatim" is inseparably linked to the exposition of the law. In CD XIV:8, as in 1QSa I:11, the expression מִשְׁפָּטִים לְפָנָיו is actually used. Again, in 1QS VI:22, the "overseer" enrolls the new member for "law and mishpat". Finally, in CD XX:27b-28a, observance of the "mishpatim" is qualified as "coming and going in accordance with the law". Yet, there is a subtle but discernible distinction between the two. For this reason, 1QS VI:22 speaks of "law and mishpat", while in 1QS VIII:23f., the "mishpatim" are explained (מִשְׁפָּטִים) to one who has already transgressed the law of Moses itself. This distinction becomes clearer in CD XIII:5, where the מִשְׁפָּטִים לְפָנָיו is identified with the מִשְׁפָּטִים לְפָנָיו . The latter expression refers to the "interpretation" of the law according to its true meaning². Hence, the מִשְׁפָּטִים לְפָנָיו does not refer to the legal prescriptions of the law, as such, but to the "decisions" or "judgments" which have arisen from its study and interpretation. In this sense, it is used in 1QS VII:21 and 1QSa I:

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- 1: Literally in 1QS V:3: "At their mouth the decision of the lot comes forth". The lot has a divine origin cf. Acts 15:28,22; CD XIII:3-4;
2: M.Delcor, Op.cit., RB 62,(1955), p.71: "מִשְׁפָּטִים désigne une vraie explication, une véritable interprétation de la Torah".

11, where it is specified that the novice is permitted to participate "at the hearing of the decisions" (ד'ג'ג'ג'ג').

It is valid to conclude that the phrase "to expound mishpatim" (ג'ג'ג'ג'ג'), in 1QS VI:6-8a, refers to the oral exposition of the law through which the true meaning of that law is explained before the assembly. The "study of the law" (ג'ג'ג'ג'ג'ג') embodied the act of meditation upon the word of scripture, as well as the public and oral exposition of the ד'ג'ג'ג'ג' , the "decisions" and "judgment" which, under the influence of divine inspiration, have arisen from such meditation.

d) The Counsel of the Law

One of the remarkable features of the word ג'ג'ג'ג' is its consistent association with the word ג'ג'ג' .

"He shall be regularly inscribed in his rank among his brethren in whatever concerns the law and judgment (ג'ג'ג'ג')¹...; and he may give his opinion (ג'ג'ג'ג') to the community together with his judgment (ג'ג'ג'ג')" ².

"Unclean, unclean shall he be for as long as he scorns the ordinances (ד'ג'ג'ג'ג') of God and allows not himself to be taught by the community in His counsel" ³.

"And they shall not depart from the whole counsel of the law to walk in all the stubbornness of their

1: A. Dupont-Sommer translates "mishpat"="justice".

2: 1QS VI:22-23a;

3: 1QS III:5b-6a; A. Dupont-Sommer translates, "community of His council".

heart. And they shall be governed by the first ordinances (or: first judgments: ד'טו שט) in which the members of the community began their instruction"¹.

"Let him conceal the counsel of the law (סל סל) from the midst of the men of perversity. And let him keep true knowledge and righteous judgment for them that have chosen the way"².

The identification appears to be complete. The word סל is often joined to סל to refer to the סל סל, "the council of the community"³. In LQS, however, it is to be translated as "counsel", or, "opinion", referring to the "mishpatim", the judgments and decisions on matters of law interpretation, which the member is permitted and, indeed, is required to contribute when the community assembles for law study⁴. Furthermore, in LQS IX:10, we have "the whole counsel of the law". The use of the word סל suggests that it refers to a collective body of "decisions" which have been recorded, preserved and accumulated within the community. This appears to be the implication in LQS IX:17, where the member is required to "conceal the counsel of the law", to keep secret the collected body of law interpretations. Thus, on the basis of this consistent identification between the "counsel of the law" and the "judgments" or, "decisions of the law", it is possible to conclude that the former refers to a "common store of halakic knowledge within the community"⁵.

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- 1: LQS IX:9b-10; A.Dupont-Sommer translates סל סל סל = "maxim of the law". Note the relation "mishpatim" and "teaching" in LQS III:6;
 - 2: LQS IX:17; A.Dupont-Sommer translates סל טו שט = "right justice";
 - 3: LQS III:2; V:3,7; etc.;
 - 4: Note the expression "community inquiry", or "study" in LQS VI:24;
 - 5: cf. P.Wernberg-Møller, Op.cit., p.120,(n.46);

e) The Halakah of the Community

Particularly instructive is the implied identity between "the whole counsel of the law" and the "first ordinances" (or: "first judgments" $\text{דְּבָרֵי הַשְּׁמוּעָה}$) in 1QS IX:10. Faithfulness to the halakah of the community is identified with instruction (לְהַדְרִיךְ)¹ in the "first judgments". In 1QpH IX:9, the word לְהַדְרִיךְ has been linked to the figure of the "teacher of righteousness":

"This concerns the wicked priest whom, because of the iniquity committed against the teacher of righteousness and the men of his counsel, God delivered into the hands of his enemies".²

The expression לְהַדְרִיךְ is often used to refer to the men of the community who belong to the sphere of God's atonement, salvation and covenant³. This saving activity, which is implicit in the word לְהַדְרִיךְ , God mediates through the "instructions" and "teachings" of His "laws" ($\text{דְּבָרֵי הַשְּׁמוּעָה}$). It appears that a similar meaning is implied here. According to the community, the "teacher of righteousness" is the recipient of divine revelation. He is the priest "whom God placed in the house of Judah to explain all the words of His servants the prophets"⁴. To him "God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets"⁵. Under his guidance, the community made its first attempt at formulating an authoritative body of doctrinal material⁶. This

1: The text reads לְהַדְרִיךְ from the root לְהַדְרִיךְ . W.H.Brownlee reads "disciplined", cf. p.34; In 1QS III:6, the verb לְהַדְרִיךְ is used with $\text{דְּבָרֵי הַשְּׁמוּעָה}$ and clearly means "instruction".

2: A.Dupont-Sommer translates לְהַדְרִיךְ , "men of his council".

3: cf. 1QS III:8 (atonement); 1QH VI:13 (glory); 1QH VII:10 (covenant);

4: 1QpH II:8-9;

5: 1QpH VII:4-5;

6: cf. Chapter XI, page 230;

interpretative function of the "teacher" has a prophetic and redemptive quality. He leads the community in the "way of His heart" and makes known to its members "all that will befall His people"¹. Hence, "the men of his counsel" are "the men of the community" who participate in and benefit from this redemptive and prophetic activity of the "teacher".² The word counsel (נִסְיָ), in the above-mentioned passage, refers then to the "revelations" or "judgments" which have been laid down by the "teacher". This throws a meaningful light upon the use of the "first judgments" in CD XX:27-32:

"But all who have clung to those judgments (ד'ֹוֹשִׁׁם) going and coming in accordance with the law and have heeded the voice of the teacher... who have let themselves be instructed in the first ordinances (or: first judgments)...and who have lent their ear to the voice of the teacher of righteousness".

Here, "instruction" (יָרַדְוִן) in the "first judgments" is identified with obedience to the "teacher of righteousness". On the basis of the identification "counsel of the law"="first judgments" (1QS IX:10) and "counsel"="judgments of the teacher" (1QpH IX:9), it is possible to conclude that the halakah of the community, at least in its earlier stages, consisted of the "decisions" or "judgments" concerning the law and the prophets, laid down by the "teacher of righteousness".

1: CD I:11f; 1QpH II:10;

2: The majority of scholars translate, "men of his council". cf. G.Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.238; K.Elliger, Op.cit., p.204 translates, "Ratsgenossen". There is no evidence, however, to claim that the Qumran "teacher" presided over a special "council" within the community, which would justify this translation.

f) The Study of the Law and the Covenant

The importance of the subject of law study, and this includes the emphasis on halakah, is evident in the rather frequent association of the root שׁוּר with בְּרִית:

"All them that inquired of me (or: "seek me") (הַבְּרִיתִי שׁוּרִים), that gathered in Thy covenant that walk in the way of Thy heart"¹.

"And thence (is) the covenant (come) to them that seek it" (דִּרְשׁוּהָ)².

"For they are not counted in His covenant (בְּרִיתוֹ) for they have not inquired nor sought Him (דִּרְשׁוּהוּ) concerning His precepts (דְּבָרֵי שׁוּר) in order to know the hidden matters"³.

The requirement to "seek God in His laws" is a recurring one. In 1QS I:3, the community is said to dedicate itself

"To seek God (in His ordinances, dedicating themselves in community) to do what is good and right before Him, as He commanded through Moses and through all His servants the prophets"⁴.

The דְּבָרִים are understood as the law, or in a general sense, as the revealed will of God mediated through Moses and the prophets. In 1QS V:9, the "sons of Zadok", the priests to whom the law is revealed (line 9a), are called "the seekers of His will" (דִּרְשׁוּהוּ). Hence, the action involved in the root שׁוּר is not based on gnostic or

1: 1QH IV:24;

2: 1QH V:9;

3: 1QS V:11-12;

4: 1QS I:2b-3; The translation is that of W.H.Brownlee. Brownlee restores [בְּחִיפֵי נִדְבָּר בִּימֵי] שׁוּר, on the basis of distinguishable traces of letters in the lacuna and of lines 7,11, where the words "ordinances" and "volunteer" occur in their complete form. cf. 2 Chron. 15:12; cf. W.H.Brownlee, Op.cit., p.7,(n.5);

speculative thinking, but is grounded in scripture, the revealed "will" of God¹. Furthermore, in two of the above-quoted passages², as well as in CD I:10f., this activity of "seeking" appears to be closely linked to the "teacher", the Mosaic "seeker of the law".³ Hence, the "seeking God in his laws" is intimately linked to the law as it is studied in the community and interpreted by the "teacher". God Himself is found through the study of the law, in the "laws" or "judgments" revealed through that study.

Even a cursory glance reveals a remarkable relationship between וְדָרַשׁ and וְרָב . This phenomenon is explicable only in the light of the community's understanding of covenant according to which law study forms an integral and essential part of the act of covenant loyalty. Obedience to the covenant calls for the study, interpretation and exposition of the law. It was precisely the issue of the law and its proper interpretation which compelled the community to secede and to declare its allegiance to a "new covenant", or, "covenant of the community", under the guidance of the Mosaic "seeker of the law". For this reason, the "sons of Zadok", the guardians of law study and the preservers of halakah, are called "the priests who keep the covenant and seek (וְדָרַשׁ) His will". The community members at large are the

1: cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.259;

2: 1QH IV:24; V:9;

3: It may be assumed that the "teacher" is the speaker in 1QH IV:24 and 1QH V:9. cf. G.Jeremias, Op.cit., p.211; God has placed the knowledge of redemption in the heart of the teacher (V:9a) and it is he who directs the community in the "way of His heart" by this mediating function. (CD I:11; 1QH IV:24;) cf. G.Jeremias, Op.cit., pp.221-223;

"members of their covenant" because they have dedicated themselves to walk in God's "truth" and to do His "will" by following the law as it is revealed to and mediated through the "sons of Zadok"¹.

4. Summary

In retrospect, we may summarize our findings as follows:

- (i) The expression מוסר ופסוק is closely associated with the expression פסוק ופסוק . "Study" and "exposition" of the law form an inseparable unity.
- (ii) The פסוקים are the "decisions" or "judgments" which have been derived from a study of the law. Hence, פסוק ופסוק refers to the "instruction" through which the true interpretation of the law is explained before the assembly.
- (iii) There is sufficient evidence to argue for the existence of a collective body of "judgments", a common store of knowledge concerning the meaning of the law. This was evident in the frequent and consistent association of the word פסוק with הנהגה ופסוק .
- (iv) This halakic tradition the community is called upon to preserve and obey. "They shall not depart from the whole counsel of the law;... but shall be ruled by the first judgments"². To be "instructed in the

1: 1QS V:8-10a;

2: 1QS IX:10;

first judgments" is to study the law¹ and to respond to the "voice of the teacher of righteousness", the Mosaic "interpreter", or "seeker of the law"².

(v) This halakic tradition the community is also called upon to perpetuate among its members. To "conceal the counsel of the law" and to "keep true knowledge and righteous judgment for them that have chosen the way"³.

(vi) This halakic tradition, at least in part, consisted of the "decisions" and "revelations" concerning the law laid down by the "teacher of righteousness".

(vii) To respond to the law, then, is to study it, to respect and preserve the halakah of the community, and to abide by the "decisions" which have been derived and accumulated from that study.

(viii) Finally, a direct relationship was found to exist between covenant allegiance and law study, or, obedience to the sectarian halakah, the accumulated body of revelations and decisions. We shall progress still a step further and seek to determine precisely what is implied in this concept of covenant allegiance.

1: The text CD XX:28 reads, "going and coming in accordance with the law". In Nu.27:21, it is used for the people of Israel who abide by the judgment of the priest Eleazar. cf. Chapter XI, page 238;

2: CD XX:27-32;

3: 1QS IX:17;

CHAPTER XIII

THE LAW AND REVELATION

1. Introduction

In chapter XI, a special study was made of the use of the expressions, "new covenant" and "covenant of the community". These were found to be related, in a most intimate sense, to the study, interpretation and exposition of the law, as pursued by the community under the guidance and direction of the "teacher of righteousness". The preceding chapter has enabled us to enlarge upon the nature of this study of the law and to determine its relevance to the covenant.

An investigation of the term "covenant of God", in the same chapter, showed that the community's conception of covenant obedience extends beyond the precisely defined limits of a specific response to the law of the "teacher" or the halakah of the community. Rather, this covenant expression indicated the presence of a conception of covenant obedience which is more theological, more spiritual and more comprehensive in scope. This we described as a "spiritual disposition of faith in God".

The purpose of this chapter will be to move closer to an understanding of this conception of covenant faith.

2. The Study of the Law and Revelation

a) The Things Revealed

The requirement to observe or to study the law is frequently accompanied by the phrase, "following all that is revealed of it":

"To be converted to the law of Moses...following all that is revealed of it" (חסאנח)¹.

"The study of the law which He has promulgated by the hand of Moses, that they may act according to all that is revealed (חסאנח) season by season"².

In each case, "return to the law" or "study of the law" is qualified as doing "all that is revealed". In this context, it is particularly interesting to note the use of חסאנח in IQS IX:17-19:

"Let him conceal the counsel of the law (חסאנח חסאנח)
....Let him keep true knowledge and righteous judgment
(חסאנח) for them that have chosen the way. He shall
guide each man with knowledge (חסאנח)...He shall
instruct them in the marvellous and true mysteries
(חסאנח)...that they may walk with one another
perfectly (חסאנח) in all that has been revealed to them"
(חסאנח)

The following observations are relevant to this quotation:

(i) There is a clear parallelism in this passage between the following phrases: (a) conceal the counsel of the law. (b) keep true knowledge and righteous judgment. (c) guide..with knowledge. (d) instruct..in mysteries. (e) walk..in all that has been revealed. The close correlation between these requirements becomes more intelligible in the light of the familiar allusion to Isaiah 40:3, which immediately follows:

1: IQS V:8b-9a;

2: IQS VIII:15.

"The time to prepare the way to go into the desert" (line 19b-20a). In 1QS VIII:14, this same text has been cited as a scriptural justification for "the study of the law" (הַדָּבָר שֶׁבַח). Hence, not only the words "counsel" (נִסְיוֹן), "judgment" (שֹׁפֵט), but "knowledge" (דָּעָה), "mysteries" (סִגְנוֹת) and "things revealed", as well, are linked, in a most intimate sense, to the study of the law.

(ii) The relationship of "knowledge" and "mysteries" to the "things revealed" hinges on the word דָּבָר, or "perfection". The community member is to walk "perfectly...in all that has been revealed" (line 19). This curious phrase recurs in 1QS I:8-9.

"To cause all the volunteers to enter who wish
to practise the precepts of God in the covenant
of grace...and behave perfectly before Him
(according) to all the revelations" (וְכָל הַפְּתִיחוֹת)¹.

We have already noted the frequent use of דָּבָר as an expression of complete law obedience². "Perfection of His ways"³, "perfection of way"⁴, and the "perfect of way"⁵, are common expressions, used to designate the unconditional and total allegiance of the community to the law. It is significant, moreover, that in the above passages this "law perfection" is understood to involve walking "in all that has been revealed" (1QS IX:19). Similarly, in 1QS VIII:1, it is stipulated

1: The פְּתִיחוֹת is the "covenant of grace" rather than the "covenant of friendship", as is suggested by W.H.Brownlee, Op.cit., p.6;

2: cf. Chapter XII, pp.255-259; The word "perfect" (דָּבָר) does not necessarily mean "blameless" as in the Old Testament. cf. Ps.18:33; 101:6; 119:1; Prov.11:20;

3: 1QS I:13; V:24;

4: 1QS VIII:10,18,21,25; IX:5,6,8,9;

5: 1QS IV:22; VIII:25;

that the council of the community, the supreme administrative body, must consist of

"Twelve men and three priests, perfect in all that is revealed of the law".

B. Rigaux has pointed out that, while the basic meaning of *דבד* finds its roots in the Old Testament, the community of Qumran has understood and developed the word in its own distinctive way. He argues that the phrase "to become a community in God's counsel", (1QS I:8), suggests that this "law-study-perfection" has certain sectarian connotations, referring to an esoteric knowledge (*דגד*) concerning the "things revealed", limited to and reserved exclusively for the community¹. The association of "perfection" in "all that has been revealed" with "instruction" in "knowledge" and "mysteries" (1QS IX:17-19) indeed suggests that "the study and interpretation of Torah constituted a kind of secret gnosis to be closely guarded and revealed only to the initiated"². This argument is supported by the opening words of 1QS IX:17-19: "Let him conceal the counsel of the law" (line 17), the latter referring to the accumulated body of interpretations derived from a study of scripture³. For this reason, the expressions "knowledge" and "mysteries" occur in close proximity to the requirement "to walk...perfectly in all things that have been revealed" (line 19). The secret "gnosis", or, "perfection in all things revealed", is

1: cf. B. Rigaux, "Révélation des Mystères et Perfection à Qumran et dans le Nouveau Testament", NTS 4, (1957/58), p.239;

2: M. Black, Op.cit., p.121;

3: cf. Chapter XII, pp.270-272;

acquired by receiving "instruction" in "mysteries" and through the acquisition of "knowledge". The significance of this relationship between "knowledge" (דָּבָר), "mysteries" (סֵתֶר) and "things revealed" ($\text{דְּבָרִים שֶׁנִּתְּנִים}$), becomes clearer still after a more detailed examination of the doctrine of revelation in the community.

In the Old Testament, the basic meaning of the root נָסַח is "to uncover"¹. The aim of the action involved is "to exhibit", or "to clarify", that which has remained hidden or obscured. The cause of that which is hidden may lie in the object to be "uncovered", or in the eyes of the beholder. Therefore, the action "to exhibit" may be exerted upon either one of these. In the latter sense, it is frequently another person or Yahweh Himself who is the mediator or operative agent in disclosing the hidden to another². For instance, in Nu.24:15, Balaam is called "the man whose eyes^{are} are opened" ($\text{דָּבָר שֶׁנִּתְּנִים}$), "who sees the vision of the Almighty" (vs.4), for Yahweh Himself "opened the eyes of Balaam" (Nu.22:31)³. More commonly, the qal, niph'al and piel forms are used to express an action directed upon the object. This may apply to the proclamation of a royal decree, or to the disclosure of "secrets"⁴. In this respect, it is interesting to note

1: cf. 2 Sam.6:20; Lev.20:11; This same basic sense is evident in CD V:20;

2: Another person: 1 Sam.20:2,12; 22:8,17; Ruth 4:4; etc.;

God: 1 Sam. 9:15; 2 Sam.7:27; Job 33:16; etc.;

3: H.Haag, " 'Offenbaren' in der hebräischen Bibel", TZ 16,(1960), pp. 251-252, calls attention to the interchangeable use of נָסַח to refer to the uncovering of one's vision or one's ear. Ps.119:13 speaks of "the ordinances of Thy mouth", yet in vs.18, the psalmist calls upon Yahweh to open his eyes that he may see the wondrous things of the law.

4: נָסַח : Prov.20:19; 25:9; cf. Daniel 2:19,28,29,30,47; 4:6;

a passage in Deut.29:29 with its emphasis on the disclosure or revelation of the "hidden things" with relation to the law:

"The secret things (הַסְּתֵמִים) belong to the Lord our God; but the things that are revealed (הַפְּסוּקִים) belong to us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law".

The relevance of this passage becomes immediately apparent in the light of 1QS V:11-12, where the same expressions הַסְּתֵמִים and הַפְּסוּקִים occur.

"For they are not counted in His covenant; for they have not inquired nor sought Him concerning His precepts in order to know the hidden matters ... (הַסְּתֵמִים) and they have treated with insolence matters revealed (הַפְּסוּקִים)".

In rabbinic terminology, the הַסְּתֵמִים of Deut.29:29 have been understood as the "secret" or "unconscious sins" of man¹. Several scholars have preferred to interpret 1QS V:11-12 in the light of this rabbinic tradition². It should be noted, however, that whereas in the text of Deut. the הַסְּתֵמִים and the הַפְּסוּקִים stand in precise antithesis to each other, in 1QS the writer has taken special care to place the two in juxtaposition. The single accusation is that the faithless have neglected "the hidden matters" and have treated with contempt "the matters revealed". The two are closely related in the thought of the writer. A very similar identification is evident in CD III:13-14.

1: bSanh 43b; jSot 22a; cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.255;

2: cf. F.Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie, p.71; H.Bardtke, Die Handschriftfunde am Toten Meer, Berlin, 1958, p.94; W.H. Brownlee, Op.cit., p.21, (n.31); Not so: J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.23; In the sense of "unconscious sins", the word הַסְּתֵמִים is akin to κρυπτα in the New Testament. cf. Matt.6:4,6,18; 1 Timothy 5:24;

"God established His covenant with Israel for ever revealing (סודות) to them the hidden things (סודות) in which all Israel had strayed".

The סודות undoubtedly refer to the halakah of the community, "all that has been revealed" through the study and interpretation of the law¹. The relationship of the "hidden matters" to these "things revealed" can be explained in the light of CD 2b-3a, where it is stated that the law remained "sealed" and remained "hidden (and) was (not) revealed until the coming of Zadok" (line 4b-5a). Hence, the סודות are the "hidden matters", the secrets of the law, which had remained concealed and were revealed to Zadok and his descendants, the "sons of Zadok", within the community. That the סודות are revealed through the study of the law is evident in the use of שׂר in LQS V:11-12, which expresses the activity of "seeking God" through the study of the law.²

b) Knowledge of Mysteries

It is worthy of note that the end-product of revelation is qualified as a "knowledge of hidden things" (סודות) in LQS V:11. This is reminiscent of LQS IX:17-18, where the "maskil" is required to

"guide each man in knowledge...and likewise (to) instruct them in the marvellous and true mysteries".

1: cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.9: "Die offenbarten Dinge sind...die offenbarten Gebote Gottes, die Worte der Tora".

2: cf. Chapter XII, page 274;

This relationship between "knowledge" and "mysteries" is also evident elsewhere:

"For Thou hast given me knowledge through Thy marvellous mysteries and hast shown Thyself mighty within me...for they make known Thy mighty deeds to all the living"¹.

יָדָה and נִתְּנָה are understood respectively as the process of revelation ^{and} or as the end-product of that process. The latter is also evident in 1QpH XI:1.

"knowledge will be revealed to them as the waters of the sea".

The relationship of "knowledge" and "waters" indicates that this revelation is quite inseparable from the law²:

"To be converted to the law of Moses...And all that is revealed of the law for knowledge..."³.

Again, the close association of "knowledge" with "counsel"⁴, "judgments"⁵, and with the interpretative function of the "teacher"⁶, suggests that it is also closely linked to the study of the law and the halakah of the community. Hence, we may conclude that the "secret gnosis", which gave the study of the law its esoteric character, consisted of a "knowledge of mysteries", or a "knowledge of hidden things", revealed and mediated through that study. Only this will explain the close identification which exists between נִתְּנָה, יָדָה and נִסְתָּרִים.

1: 1QH IV:27b-28a; 28b-29a; Translation by G.Vermes;

2: cf. N.Wieder, Op.cit., JJS 4, (1953), p.159f;

3: CD XV: 12b, 13b;

4: 1QS VIII:18;

5: CD XV:11;

6: CD I:11;

It is not without some significance that in CD III:13-14, the covenant is understood to be renewed by God through a revelation of the "hidden things", while in 1QS V:11-12a, the accusation of covenant transgression is qualified as a refusal "to know the hidden matters" (סודותיהם לא ידעו) and as an attitude of disrespect for the "matters revealed". Hence, "perfection" or covenant allegiance cannot be achieved apart from revelation, without a "knowledge" of "mysteries" and "hidden matters", a "knowledge" of "the matters revealed" through a study of the law¹. To obey the covenant does not merely involve the study of the law and its exposition in a purely simple and formal way. Rather, it means to observe and respond to the sectarian halakah, "the matters revealed", "the hidden matters" or "mysteries". This calls for a more detailed study of the term "mystery".

3. The Mysteries of God

a) The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Texts

The word מִסְתֵּרִים, either in the singular or plural form, occurs no less than forty times, which is indicative of its importance in the theology of the community². The Book of Daniel mentions it seven times

1: B.Rigaux, Op.cit., NTS 4, (1957/58), p.239: "La perfection est d'abord obéissance et accomplissement d'ordres divins et ne peut être atteinte sans une science révélée, une connaissance des mystères, une révélation de la loi".

2: M.Black, Op.cit., p.120; p.142; cf. E.Vogt, " 'Mysteria' in Textibus Qumran", Biblica 37, (1956), pp.247-257;

and provides an instructive background for its use in the writings of Qumran¹.

(i) The Book of Daniel places special stress on the divine nature of the "mystery". It is essentially the "mystery of God". In Daniel 2:16, the word is understood as the hidden significance of a dream. King Nebuchadnezzar knows the plot of the dream (2:4-6). Its meaning, however, remains a "mystery" for it is known only to God (2:18). In a similar fashion, the Qumran texts speak of the "mysteries of God" as "marvellous", or, "unfathomable mysteries"² (לסג'ת); "mysteries of His understanding"³; "mystery of Thy wisdom"⁴.

(ii) The divine nature of the "mystery" necessitates a divine initiative in the process of its revelation. Thus, in Daniel 2:19, the revelation takes place by means of a nocturnal "vision" (ח'תן). In Daniel, as in the Old Testament generally, the ח'תן is a common medium of revelation, the emphasis being always on the divine origin of its inspiration⁵. The ultimate "revealer of secrets" is God⁶. In Daniel

1: cf. Daniel 2:18,19,27-29,47; 4:9; On the Qumran-Daniel relationship, cf. B.J.Roberts, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament Scriptures", BJRL 36,(1953), pp.75-96; H.H.Rowley, Jewish Apocalyptic, p.9; p.23; B.Rigaux, Op.cit., NTS 4,(1957/58), p.241,(n.2); K.Elliger, Op.cit., p.

2: 1QS IX:18; XI:5; 1QpH VII:8; (157;

3: 1QS IV:18; 1QH XIII:13;

4: 1QH IX:23;

5: Note the association of the divine "word" (1 Chron.17:15; Daniel 9:23) with the prophetic message (2 Chron 9:29; Is.29:11);

6: Daniel 2:22,28; 4:7;

9:22, it is the divine agent Gabriel who gives "wisdom" to comprehend the mystery. Significantly, the word "vision" (7177) occurs three times in the MT of Habakkuk, in the very passages upon which the author based his references to "the mysteries of God" in 1QpH¹. Throughout other texts, as well, there is a constant emphasis on the divine origin of the revelation of the "mysteries of God"².

(iii) God reveals His mysteries through a human instrument of His choice. Daniel is able to show the "interpretation" (7709) of the "mystery" only as God's chosen speaker, inspired and appointed by Him for this task³. So also in 1QH IV:27-28a, the writer praises God for the revelation of His "mysteries", through which he has become the instrument for the illumination of many. In 1QH II:13, he calls himself

"A banner for the elect of righteousness and an interpreter of knowledge (7758) of the marvellous mysteries".

The accent of the word 7758 is on the mediating function of the "interpreter" and, particularly in the Old Testament, "denotes some official intermediary or go-between"⁴. This appellation bears the

1: Compare Hab.2:1-2 and 1QpH VIII:15; Hab. 2:3a and 1QpH VII:8; Hab. 2:3b and 1QpH VII:14;

2: 1QS XI:5b-9b; 1QH IV:27; V:25; XII:13; etc.;

3: cf. Daniel 2:16,23,30;

4: 7758 is the hiphil participle of the root 775 and is used in the Old Testament, as well as in the Qumran texts, as a "spokesman", or "mediator". cf. Gen.42:33 (LXX: δ ἐπαγγελλόμενος); Job 33:23; Is.43:27; 1QH II:13,31; IV:7,9; VI:13; etc.; cf. H.N.Richardson, "Some notes on 775 and its derivatives", VT 5,(1955), pp.163-179; (cf. p.167); M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.143,(n.2); S.Holm-Nielsen, Op.cit., p.35, (n.29).

imprint of such authority that it is possible to conclude that we are dealing with "a man in an eminent leading position, possibly the teacher of righteousness himself"¹. Only such a leading figure could have made a claim of such unconditional boldness.

b) The Mysteries and the Prophetic Word

In the Book of Daniel, prophetic scriptures provide the vehicle of the revelation of the "mysteries of God". There, the "mystery" is contained within the experience of a dream (2:16). However, the "mystery" may be contained, not only within a dream, but in prophetic scripture. In Daniel 9:2, on the basis of the words of the prophet Jeremiah, Daniel predicts a period of seventy years "before the end of the desolation of Jerusalem". Yet, the divine origin and divine initiative of the "mystery" and its revelation remains central, for it is the angel Gabriel who enables Daniel to grasp the meaning of the "vision" (9:21-23).

In the Qumran texts, as well, the "mysteries of God" find their point of concrete anchorage in the prophetic word, which is the vehicle of their revelation:

"And who is like Thy people Israel whom Thou hast
chosen for Thyself (בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ) from among
all the peoples of the lands; the people of the
saints of the covenant and of those who are

1: M.Manseor, Op.cit., p.106,(n.10); F.Nötscher,^{Zur} Theologischen Terminologie, pp.73-74;

learned in the precept (עין מְבִינָה) of those with intelligent understanding.... of those whose ear is opened (שִׁמְעָה) and who hear profound things (סִגְיוֹת)"1.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the expression "profound things" (סִגְיוֹת), used here, is identifiable with the word "mysteries", used elsewhere:

(i) The graphic description of the revelation of the "profound things" as the "opening" (שִׁמְעָה) of one's ear (שִׁמְעָה), is reminiscent of 1QH I:21, where the same symbolism appears with reference to the disclosure of the divine "mysteries":

"For Thou hast uncovered (פָּתַח) my ear to marvellous mysteries".

(ii) The expression בְּנֵי בְרִית is akin to בְּנֵי בְרִית (1QS VIII:6), or to בְּנֵי בְרִית (1QH IV:33; XI:9), which are both common designations for "the elect"². This election is understood to be confirmed by the revelation of God's "mysteries":

"Thy mercy is obtained by all the sons of Thy loving kindness (בְּנֵי בְרִית) for Thou hast made known to them Thy secret of truth and given them understanding of all Thy marvellous mysteries"³.

Both quotations, then, are references to the community, "those privileged of having secrets disclosed to them by God"⁴. Its members are "those with intelligent understanding" (1QM X:10) to whom God has

1: 1QM X:6-11;

2: cf. M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.168,(n.1);

3: 1QH XI:9-10a;

4: M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.100,(n.11);

given "understanding" (1QH XI:9) of "profound things" (1QM X:11) and "mysteries" (1QH XI:10a).

In the above-quoted passage, 1QM X:6-11, the writer has linked the concepts of election (הַרְחַב), revelation (גִּלְיוֹן) and instruction in the law (לִמּוּדֵי תּוֹרָה). The "understanding" which the community possesses is acquired through and grounded in the revealed word of God. The revelation of the "mysteries of God", or the "profound things", is intimately related to instruction in the law (לִמּוּדֵי תּוֹרָה), the latter referring to the entire sphere of God's revealed word.

In 1QH II:14, the psalmist refers to a body of men, "the interpreters of straying", or, "the interpreters of error" ($\text{מְפָרְשֵׁי שׁוּגְגָה}$). Here, as well as in 1QH II:31, they are identified with those "who seek smooth things" (line 15). These are, undoubtedly, references to the contemporary opponents of the community¹, referred to elsewhere as "the men of mockery"², "the removers of bounds"³, "the interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit"⁴. We have seen that these terms were peculiarly suited for the opponents because, according to the community, they had distorted and falsified God's revealed word, mediated through Moses and the prophets.⁵ In this light, it is rather significant that

1: cf. G.Lambert, "Le Maître de Justice et la Communauté de l'Alliance," NRT 74, (1952), p.279f;

2: CD VIII:13; XX:11-12; 1QpH X:9; 1QH IV:7,9;

3: CD V:20-VI:1;

4: 1QH IV:9;

5: cf. 1QH IV:9,10 where "interpreters of falsehood" are accused of distorting God's law (תּוֹרָה) with "flattering words" and withholding the "liquor" or "draught of knowledge" (Is.32:6), a true interpretation of the law. cf. M.R.Lehmann, Op.cit., RDQ 1, (1958/59), p.392;

in 1QH II:13, the psalmist calls himself "an interpreter of knowledge concerning the marvellous mysteries". It has been shown above, that a "knowledge of mysteries" refers to an esoteric and secret "gnosis", obtained through divine revelation and mediated through a study and interpretation of God's word¹. Thus, when the speaker refers to himself as the "mediator" ($\gamma^{\prime} \delta \delta$)² of "knowledge concerning.... mysteries", then this function is also closely linked to "instruction" (line 14) in the law, the revealed word of God. For this reason, he clearly distinguishes himself from his opponents, "the interpreters of error" (line 14), who have withheld the source of "knowledge" by distorting and perverting the true meaning of the revealed word (1QH IV: 9-10)³. For this reason, he is also able to say:

"For Thou...hadst sealed up Thy law within me until the time of the revealing of Thy salvation to me"⁴.

"The mystery which Thou hadst sealed within me"⁵.

This function of the psalmist as the $\gamma^{\prime} \delta \delta$, the "interpreter" and "mediator" of the "mysteries" of the revealed word of God, is particularly interesting in the light of the conclusion, reached above, that this figure is to be identified with the "teacher of righteousness"⁶.

1: cf. pp.284-285; cf. S.Holm-Nielsen, Op.cit., p.82,(n.21);

2: With reference to the mediating function of the $\gamma^{\prime} \delta \delta$, cf. p.288;

3: cf. p.291,(n.5);

4: 1QH V:11-12a;

5: 1QH V:25; On the relationship of revealed "mysteries" and acquired "knowledge", cf. 1QH I:21-23; IV:27-28; VII:27; This is essentially covenantal "knowledge", derived from a study of God's law, rather than speculative wisdom with gnostic implications. cf. B.Reicke, "Traces of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?", NTS 1,(1954/55),pp. 137-141; F.Nötscher, ^{zu} Theologischen Terminologie, pp.63-64;

6: cf. p.289;

The Qumran "teacher" is charged with the duty to interpret the prophetic message, to unravel its "mysteries" and to mediate their solution to the community:

"And as for that which He said, That he may read it easily that reads it, the explanation of this concerns the teacher of righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets"¹.

This idea finds further amplification in 1QpH II:6-10a.

"The violent...who will not believe when they hear all the things which will be(fall) the last generation from the mouth of the priest whom God placed...to explain all the words of His servants the prophets".

God reveals His "mysteries" through the message of the prophets and has selected the "teacher of righteousness" to be the authoritative exponent of that message. Hence, it can be said that in the thought of the community the "mysteries of God" are anchored in and inseparable from the prophetic word.

c) The Pesher and the New Revelation

1) The Book of Daniel

In 1QpH II:8, we have the form ܠܫܢܢܐ , from the Aramaic root ܠܫܢ , "to explain", or, "to interpret". The Book of Daniel excepted, this word occurs only once in the Old Testament and refers there to the "interpretation" of a difficult matter (ܠܫܢܢܐ), such as only a

1: 1QpH VII:3-5a;

specially favoured and gifted person can give¹. In Daniel, however, it occurs, either as a verb or absolute, more than thirty times. Here, the absolute $\chi\gamma\omega\gamma$ applies to the "interpretation" of a "mystery", the hidden meaning of a dream². In one case, the mysterious handwriting on a wall is the object of the "interpretation"³. However, the emphasis in all cases is constantly on the divine inspiration which makes the "interpretation" possible. It is God who reveals ($\eta\varsigma\lambda$) the "mystery" ($\gamma\gamma$) and thus enables Daniel to state the meaning or "interpretation" ($\chi\gamma\omega\gamma$) of the dream⁴.

The divine origin of the "interpretation" has a significant effect upon the actual nature of the "interpretation" itself. Daniel 9 provides a splendid illustration. Daniel studies "the word of the Lord to Jeremiah the prophet" (vs.2). He learns that, according to Jer.25:11 and 29:10, the Babylonian exile is to last "seventy years". Since this number is irrelevant to his own time (167-164 B.C.), a reformulation of that chronological reference is required. At Daniel's request, the angel Gabriel is sent to give him a clearer understanding of the meaning of Jeremiah's "seventy years" (vs.20-24). The angel explains that the "seventy years" are to be understood as "seventy weeks of years" (vs.24; Lev.25). The intervention of the divine agent has enabled the expositor to alter the original prophecy

1: Eccl.8:1;

2: Daniel 2:16; etc.;

3: Daniel 5:5-7;

4: Daniel 2:18,30;

and to adjust it to his contemporary situation. By means of a divine inspiration, the $\chi 709$ has become, in fact, a "new revelation" which extends beyond the original meaning of the prophetic text and complements it¹. Furthermore, this "new revelation" of the $\chi 709$ carries a positive eschatological tone, referring to an immediate future event, such as the return from Babylon (ch.9), or to a more distant event, "the latter days" (2:28).

ii) The Qumran Texts

The parallels of the above-quoted passages in 1QpH with Daniel are striking:

- (a) The word $\gamma 1095$ is used with reference to the "interpretation of the prophets" by the "teacher of righteousness".
- (b) This "interpretation" is concerned with the hidden meaning of the prophetic word: "The mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets". (1QpH VII:4-5).
- (c) The emphasis is on the divine origin of the interpretation. It is God who "made known all the mysteries" (1QpH VII:4b-5a) and who inspires the "teacher" to mediate them (1QpH II:2).
- (d) The "interpretation" carries eschatological overtones, referring to "all the things which will be(fall) the last generation" (II:7).

1: Many more parallels could be cited from apocalyptic and rabbinic sources. cf. G.Vermes, "Le 'Commentaire d'Habacuc et le Nouveau Testament", CS 5, (1951), pp.338-341; E.Osswald, "Zur Hermeneutik des Habakkuk-Kommentars", ZAW 68, (1956), p.253-254; K.Elliger, Op. cit., p.123, (n.9).

The "teacher of righteousness" has been endowed with the gift of "interpretation" ($\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma$) concerning the "mysteries" of the prophetic word, which are the "mysteries" of the eschatological "last generation".

Can it be said that this "interpretation" of prophetic scriptures is a "new revelation", adding to and complementing the original meaning of the text? Two passages in 1QpH provide the answer:

"And God told Habakkuk to write down the things which will come to pass in the last generation, but the consummation of time ($\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$) He made not known to him"¹.

"The explanation of this is that the final time will be prolonged² and will exceed everything spoken of by the prophets; for the mysteries of God are marvellous"³.

We have here a clear identification between the "consummation of time" and the "mysteries of God". The text states that the events of the final age, the "consummation of time", or the "mysteries of God", have been withheld from the prophets and will exceed all that has been said about them in scripture⁴. That this idea is, by no means unique is

1: 1QpH VII:1-2;

2: W.H.Brownlee, "The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll", BASOR, 112, (1948), pp. 8-18 suggests that $\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ means "delayed", thus implying that the fulfillment of history will be delayed for an indefinite period. Y. Ratzaby, "Remarks concerning the distinction between Waw and Yodh in the Habakkuk Scroll", JQR 41, (1950/51), p.155f., reads it as a hiphil and interprets the phrase in the light of Old Testament parallels to refer to the long duration of the eschatological era. cf. Ex.20:12; Deut.5:16; 16:2; 25:15; A.Dupont-Sommer, "Le 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' découvert près de la Mer Morte", RHR 137, (1950), pp.129-171; J.v.d. Ploeg, "Le Rouleau d'Habacuc de la grotte d'Ain Fesha", BO 8, (1951), pp. (2-11;

3: 1QpH VII:7-8;

4: For references to other sources, cf. E.Osswald, Op.cit., ZAW 68, (1956), p.249; B.Rigaux, Op.cit., NTS 4, (1957/58), p.246;

evident in the Palestinian Targum on Nu.24:3, which states that God revealed to Balaam "the secret mysteries concealed in the prophets", with one notable exception: the mystery concerning the consummation of time¹.

The word $\gamma\lambda\lambda$, "consummation", means literally "the end", referring to the completion of time as distinguished from the present². The accent, however, is not only on the physical moment in time, but also, and more particularly, on the fulness of that moment: the fulfillment of history which will be realized through the eschatological drama of the struggle between good and evil and the final victory of the righteous³. It is precisely this knowledge of the "mysteries of God" which, partially revealed to the prophets, has been made known in all its fulness to the "teacher of righteousness"⁴. To him has been revealed knowledge of "all the things which will be(fall) the last generation"⁵, "all that will befall His people"⁶.

It has been suggested above⁷ that the "mysteries of God" are closely linked to the revealed word of God, studied and interpreted by the "teacher of righteousness". This may now be confirmed and further

1: cf. G.Vermes, *Moïse*, CS, (1955), p.83;

2: cf. P.Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde*, Tübingen, 1934, p.32; cf. E.Osswald, *Op.cit.*, ZAW 68, (1956), p.249;

3: cf. N.Wieder, "The term $\gamma\lambda\lambda$ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Hebrew Liturgical Poetry", JJS 5, (1955), pp.22-31; B.Rigaux, *Op.cit.*, NTS 4, (1957/58), p.246, (n.6); K.Elliger, *Op.cit.*, p.154; 192;

4: E.Osswald, *Op.cit.*, ZAW 68, (1956), p.251: "Die Gruppe beruft sich also auf eine Spezialoffenbarung, die dem Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit zu Teil geworden ist". cf. K.Elliger, *Op.cit.*, p.155f;

5: 1QpH II:7;

6: 1QpH II:10;

7: cf. p.293;

accentuated. Through the study and interpretation of the hidden meaning, or "mysteries", of the prophetic word, and under the influence of divine inspiration, the "teacher of righteousness" has become the recipient of the "mysteries of God". The contents of these "mysteries of God" are the hidden events of the "consummation of time", of the eschatological drama in the fulfillment of time: "the things which will be(fall) the last generation". Since these "mysteries" are understood to have remained hidden from the prophets themselves, they constitute a "new revelation" which extends beyond the original meaning of the prophetic text and, in fact, complements it.

d) The New Revelation and the Biblical Commentaries

There is every reason to believe that the study and interpretation of prophetic scriptures, with the specific purpose of acquiring a "new revelation" or insight into the eschatological "mysteries of God", became one of the chief occupations of the Qumran community¹. The extensive collection of "pesharim" or prophetic commentaries bears a concrete witness to this fact². These commentaries are, in fact, interpretations which constitute a "new revelation", concerned, not only with the relevance of the prophetic word for the contemporary situation,

1: cf. M.Black, Op.cit., p.130;

2: B.Rigaux, Op.cit., NTS 4, (1957/58), p.247: "Dieu a donné au Maître de Justice et aux chefs spirituels de Qumran une illumination dont l'existence et le résultat nous sont connus par des Pesarim". cf. J. v.d.Ploeg, Op.cit., KNAW 23, (1960), p.4ff;

but also with its hidden significance concerning God's activity within the eschatological drama¹.

The community also possessed its own "book of mysteries" (1Q27), which deals with the "mystery of the future" (line 3,4), when "wickedness shall retire before righteousness....and righteousness appear like the sun, the norm of the world" (lines 5b, 6b-7a).²

e) The New Revelation and Covenant Faith

The "new revelation", mediated through the "teacher of righteousness", came to constitute the foundation of the covenant upon which its existence and survival depended.

The position of supreme authority occupied by the "teacher of righteousness" in the context of the "new covenant" rests entirely on the "new revelation" concerning the eschatological "mysteries of God". He is the mediator of the covenant³ and Mosaic "interpreter of the law"⁴. This mediatorship rests on his function as the *γῑσσ*, the "interpreter of knowledge concerning marvellous mysteries"⁵. In 1QH IV:24, the "teacher" expresses his gratitude to God for the leadership he has

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- 1: G.Vermes, Op.cit., RHPR 33, (1955), p.98: "Le peñer est la r  v  lation des myst  res, de ceux notamment qui concernent la fin des temps, la lutte finale entre la justice et l'iniquit  ". cf. E.Osswald, Op.cit., ZAW 68, (1956), p.251; K.Elliger, Op.cit., p.150; pp.156-157; B.G  rtner, ST 8, (1955), pp.1-25;
2: cf. O.Piper, "The 'Book of Mysteries' (Qumran Cave I,27) - A study in Eschatology", JR 38, (1958), pp.95-106; J.Hempel, Die Texte von Qumran in der heutigen Forschung, G  ttingen, 1962, p.305;
3: cf. Chapter XI, pp.229-239;
4: cf. Chapter III, pp.50-55;
5: cf. page 288;

been able to give to his followers:

"All them that inquired of me, that gathered
in Thy covenant and heard me, that walk in the
way of Thy heart".

The identification of "covenant" and walking in the "way of Thy heart" with the work of the "teacher" is interesting in the light of CD I:11f. where it is stated that God raised up the "teacher of righteousness" to lead the community "in the way of His heart" by revealing to its members God's plan and purpose for "the last generation", the eschatological generation of deceit. To obey the covenant is to obey the "teacher of righteousness" (CD XX:32), and, particularly, the "new revelation" concerning God's purpose which he has come to mediate. It involves a belief in the words of "the teacher of righteousness" which he has received "from the mouth of God" (1QpH II:2), a belief and faith in "all the things which will be(fall) the last generation" (1QpH II:7). The entire future destiny of the covenant community rests on this act of faith:

"The explanation of this concerns all those who observe the law in the house of Judah. God will deliver them from the house of judgment because of their affliction and their faith ($\eta \gamma \gamma \alpha \chi$)
in the teacher of righteousness"¹.

But while this "faith" is centered upon the "teacher" and is grounded in the "new revelation" he mediates, it remains fundamentally "faith" in God. True covenant obedience extends beyond the level of "understanding" or acquired "knowledge" of revealed "mysteries" and reaches

1: 1QpH VIII:1-3;

out toward God Himself:

"And (to it belong) the spirit of humility and forbearance...of understanding and intelligence and almighty wisdom with faith in all the works of God and trust in His abundant grace"¹.

4. Priestly Legalism and Apocalyptic Esotericism

Thus far, we have seen that the community placed special stress on the study of the law and on the observance of its halakah. This body of halakah they called "the whole counsel of the law" and it consisted of "decisions" and "judgments" which had been derived from the study of the law and accumulated within the community. It also constituted a secret "gnosis", a "knowledge of hidden things", or a "knowledge of mysteries", which gave the study of the law a distinctive esoteric character. The importance of this esoteric "knowledge" to our understanding of covenant was shown to exist in the expressed requirements to "study the law" and "to walk perfectly in all that has been revealed", as an act of covenant obedience.

In the first instance, this revealed "knowledge" may have been derived from the study of the "law of Moses", referring in a strict and limited sense to the legal writings of the Pentateuch. Particularly the expression "knowledge of hidden things" (סֵתֵר סֵתֵר) seems to be concerned with what could be termed "a priestly esoteric

1: 1QS IV:3-4a; cf. W.Grundmann, "Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit von Qumran und die Frage nach der Glaubensgerechtigkeit in der Theologie des Apostels Paulus", RDQ 2,(1959/60), pp.237-259;

legalism"¹, centering primarily around questions of a purely legal and cultic nature. Within this restricted category fall the Levitical laws of purity or laws concerned with "His holy sabbaths and His glorious feasts"². Undoubtedly, the halakah of the community, "the whole counsel of the law" and the "decisions", consisted largely of such a collection of sectarian laws which had been accumulated through the study of the law³. This is the case in CD XIII:5-6a, where the "overseer" gives his "decision" (6900) concerning the "exact tenor of the law" (7777 079) in connection with the law governing leprosy. Again, in IQS V:2b-3, the "sons of Zadok" give their "judgment" (line 3) with regard to "the law, or property or laws" (0'0900), the latter dealing with laws of social conduct within the community. Many of these laws, of which CD provides abundant evidence, display an attitude of increased legal severity and are reflections of sectarian reinterpretations⁴. The fact that the community took issue with its contemporaries on these legal matters and, consequently, felt the need for the reinterpretation of such legal material, may explain the use of the phrase, "hidden things in which all Israel had strayed"⁵. The hidden things (070877) in

1: M.Black, Op.cit., p.121;

2: CD III:14b-15;

3: In CD XII:22, the word 0900 has been used to refer to such a body of legal prescriptions.

4: We have already mentioned the case of Lev.18:13 which prohibits the marriage between a man and his mother's sister. In CD V:8b-9, this law has been extended to include marriage between a man and his niece: a practice tolerated and encouraged in rabbinic circles. cf.Ch.I, p.5;

5: Other live issues of controversy centered around the question of the calendar and its proper reckoning for feast days. cf. H.H.Rowley, From Moses to Qumran, London, 1963, p.270 (n.4);

this case, are used to refer to the subtleties of meaning and interpretation of the legal prescriptions of the Torah which had remained unintelligible to the contemporaries of the community:

"that which was hidden (סִגְרוּת) from Israel, but found by the man who sought"¹.
(שֶׁנִּסְתָּר וְנִמְצָא)

In this highly legalistic and priestly setting "to do according to all things that have been revealed" and "knowledge of hidden matters" is no more than strict adherence to the legal prescriptions of the Pentateuch. In this context, we are dealing with a legalistic concept of covenant, based on a formal acceptance and enactment of the prescriptions of the Torah, as they have been expounded and collected within the community.

We have seen, however, that the texts also bear witness to the presence of an understanding of covenant which is radically different in nature and contents from the priestly, legalistic type described above. Here, the same esoteric terminology is applicable. Obedience to the covenant is to "study the law" and to respond "to all things that have been revealed". This time, however, "law" is no longer understood in a strict and rigid sense. Rather, the concept of "law" has been extended to embrace the entire scope of God's revealed word in the Old Testament, from Moses to the prophets. Consequently, the "knowledge" of "mysteries" too may refer to a "knowledge" derived from

1: 1QS VIII:11b-12a; cf. C.Rabin, Qumran Studies, Oxford, 1957, p.99; The reference to the "teachings of the covenant" in CD X:6 also refers to a body of legal material. For the emendation ⁷⁷⁾⁶⁷ to ⁷⁷⁾⁶⁷ cf. F.Nötscher, Theologische Terminologie, p.76, (n.123);

the scriptures by virtue of divine revelation. This correlation between revelation and the recorded word came clearly to the foreground in the use of the term "mysteries of God". "To do according to all the things revealed" is now applied to the "mysteries of God" revealed through the interpretation of the prophets and mediated through the "teacher of righteousness". Covenant obedience came to be understood, not as a rigid observance of legal material, but as "belief", a disposition of "faith" in a "new revelation" concerning God's eschatological activity. In the light of this emphatic eschatological orientation of "faith", there remains little doubt that this concept of covenant and law owes its existence to an apocalyptic element within the community.

5. Summary

The precise purpose of this chapter has been to describe the more comprehensive and more spiritual notions of covenant obedience which were found to be implicit in the expression "covenant of God".

The demand to follow the law was found to be frequently accompanied by the requirement to pursue "all that is revealed of it" or, to be "perfect" in "all things revealed". The latter was found to be closely linked to the receiving of "instruction" in "mysteries" and the acquisition of a "knowledge of mysteries" through the study of the law. Hence, obedience to the covenant involves, not only a

formal study of the law, but also a response to that which has been revealed through that study: "the matters revealed", "the hidden matters", "the mysteries".

The divine origin of the "mystery" and the divine initiative in the process of its revelation, came to the foreground in a study of the word $\tau\eta$ in the Book of Daniel.

In Daniel as well as in the Qumran texts, the "mysteries of God" are anchored in and revealed through the prophetic word of scripture. In the Qumran texts, it is the "teacher of righteousness" who is the divinely appointed and inspired mediator of these "mysteries". His interpretation of the prophetic word constitutes a "new revelation", which, while not present in the original text, is nevertheless looked upon as being equally valid by virtue of its divine origin and inspiration. The central theme of this "new revelation" is concerned with the events of the "consummation of time", God's purpose within the eschatological drama.

The idea of a "new revelation" is intimately linked to the community's concept of covenant. To obey the covenant is to respond to the "revelation", mediated through the "teacher". This response was described as an act of "faith" in God, a reliance upon His purpose for history. This conception of "covenant faith" was found to stand in sharp contrast with the formal notion of covenant obedience as an acceptance and enactment of the legal codes of the pentateuch.

CHAPTER XIV

COVENANT LAW AND COVENANT RESPONSE

1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, obedience to the covenant was found to have taken on the form of a response to the "mysteries of God", revealed through prophetic scriptures and mediated through the "teacher of righteousness". The disclosure of these "mysteries" constituted a "new revelation", describing God's plan and purpose for the "consummation of time". Covenant obedience, in this context, was found to be essentially a comprehending and inclusive concept, founded upon an attitude of trust in and reliance upon God's purposeful intentions for history and its fulfillment.

The close identification of "covenant faith" and salvation history owes its existence to an apocalyptic conception of covenant "law". The task of our next and final investigation will be to define more precisely the nature of this apocalyptic concept of "law". In this way, we shall be able to understand more clearly the full implications of the community's conception of "faith" as an act of covenant allegiance.

2. The Categorical Nature of Law

a) The Synonyms for Law

Although the writers of the texts frequently speak of "the law of Moses" (משפטים)¹, or simply of "the law"², and indisputably show that man's response to this "law" is the absolute norm by which he is judged righteous or sinful, it is, nevertheless, difficult to define its meaning in terms of carefully stated prescriptions. While, admittedly, in some contexts the "law of Moses" applies, in a limited sense, to the "Torah", the legal codes of the Pentateuch, in many others, its meaning does not fall within the scope of one single definition.

Commenting on the conception of "law" in apocalyptic literature, D.Rössler states:

"Es kommt an keiner Stelle in der apokalyptischen Tradition der Inhalt des Gesetzes zur Sprache. Und zwar ergibt sich nicht nur, dass nirgends thematisch expliziert wird, was das Gesetz sei; der Befund ist vielmehr der, dass in der gesamten apokalyptischen Tradition niemals ein Gebot seinen Inhalt nach erwähnt wird. Die Apokalyptik kennt nur die ganz allgemeine Formel "das Gesetz", und zwar ohne jede Angabe darüber, was dieses Gesetz konkret fordert oder gebietet"³.

This nebulous quality is really already evident in the concept of law which has been extended to embrace the whole scope of God's

1: 1QS V:8; VIII:15,22; CD XV:2,9,12; XVI:2,5;

2: 1QS V:21; VI:18; VIII:12; CD VII:7,8; XVI:8,9; XX:28; 1QpH I:11; V:12; VII:11; XII:5;

3: D.Rössler, Gesetz und Geschichte, Neukirchen, 1960, p.45;

revealed word, from Moses to the prophets¹. Particularly, the use of synonyms, such as סִיגָל , ד'רִיח , and דבר , which are used interchangeably to refer to "the law", tends to accentuate this indistinct character of the community's understanding of covenant law:

"And this is the rule for the members of the community, for those who volunteer to be converted from all evil and to cling to all His commands (סִיגָל רַחֲמֵי ה') according to His will (ד'רִיח)...to become a community in the law (בְּתוֹרַת ה')"².

"Let him undertake by oath of obligation to be converted to the law of Moses according to all His commands (סִיגָל רַחֲמֵי ה')"³.

"If any man enters the covenant to act according to these precepts...they shall examine his spirit ...according to his understanding and his works with regard to the law. The decisions shall lie with the sons of Aaron who volunteer in common to establish His covenant and to attend to all the commandments (דְּבָרֵי ה') which He has commanded"⁴ (סִיגָל)

"The sons of Zadok, the priests, whom God has chosen to establish His covenant...to test all His ordinances...who have founded (His covenant) in truth and heeded in righteousness all His precepts and walked according to His will"⁵.

"And on the day on which a man undertakes to be converted to the law of Moses, the angel of hostility will depart from him if he fulfills His words (דְּבָרֵי ה')"⁶.

In all these cases, the "law of Moses" does not represent a legal code or a body of legal material, but has been placed in apposition to

1: cf. Chapter I, page 10; Chapter XIII;

2: 1QS V:1-2a;

3: 1QS V:8b;

4: 1QS V:20-22a;

5: 1QSb III:22-25a;

6: CD XVI:4b-5;

"His commands", "His will", "His covenant", "His precepts", "His ordinances", and "His words"¹. We shall set out to examine some of the most important of these synonyms and thus attempt to gain an insight into the community's conception of covenant law.

b) The commandments of God

In CD V:21-VI:1, the opponents of the community are denounced because

"They preached rebellion against the commandments of God (סל אילב) (revealed) by the hand of Moses and also by (the hands of the) anointed of holiness".

A similar correlation between the "commandments of God" and the entire scope of the revealed word is to be noted in 1QS I:2b-3, where the novice is required to

"Do what is good and right before Him as He commanded (אילב) by the hand of Moses and all His servants the prophets".

Sometimes, the "commandment" or "command" has been linked only to the "law of Moses":

"Among all those who have entered the council of holiness to walk in perfection of way according to His command (אילב), any man who...sins against the law of Moses"².

Elsewhere, "the members of the community" who dedicate themselves to the divine "commands" are said to constitute a "community in the law"³.

1: Clear parallels exist in other apocalyptic writing. cf. D.Rössler, Op.cit., pp.50-54;

2: 1QS VIII:21-22;

3: 1QS V:1-2a;

In the quoted references, the "commandments of God" apply to the "law of Moses" as well as to the writings of the "prophets". The whole sphere of the revealed word of God falls within its meaning. The "law" is not specified in terms of concrete regulations to be adhered to, but is categorically qualified as "the commandments of God"¹. In CD, as well, the requirements of the covenant are referred to in this categorical way as the "commandment(s) of God", with no further definition of the particular law this "commandment" includes².

c) The Precepts of God

Another word which is frequently used as an equivalent for "the law" is פִּינ, or, "precept". This relationship is already evident in the Old Testament, where the פִּינ almost invariably refer to the particular "statutes" of the "law" which have been given by Yahweh to the people Israel through the mediator, Moses³. In the Old Testament, "law" and "statutes" are synonymous:

"That he may learn to fear the Lord his God by keeping all the words of the law (דְּבַר הַתּוֹרָה) and these statutes (פִּינ)"⁴.

In the Qumran texts, there exists a similar close affiliation between "the law" and "the statutes", or "the precepts". Whereas in 1QS I:3 the new member seeks to "do what is good and right before Him as He commanded by the hand of Moses and all His servants the prophets",

1: A similar equation תּוֹרָה = שְׁמֵרָה exists in the Old Testament, but there it is related to concrete laws. cf. Deut.6:1,25; 7:11; etc.;

2: CD II:18,21; III:2,6,8,12; V:21; VIII:19; X:3; XIX:2,5,32;

3: Lev.10:11; 26:46; Nu.30:16;

4: Deut.17:19; cf. Deut.4:8;

in line 7 ^{he is} ~~they are~~ called upon to "practise the precepts of God".

Dedication to the revealed "law" and to the "precepts" are seen as an integral part of one and the same act of covenant allegiance.

In the Old Testament, the $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{P}^{\prime}\text{N}$ stand for a concrete body of laws and, for this reason, are frequently followed by the demonstrative pronoun $\text{I}^{\prime}\text{S}^{\prime}\text{X}$ ¹. The $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{P}^{\prime}\text{N}$ are the cultic prescriptions given by Yahweh to Israel², or the laws concerning the observance of the pass-over rite³. In Nu 30:16, the $\text{D}^{\prime}\text{P}^{\prime}\text{N}$ are the laws governing the relationship between a man and his wife and between a father and his daughter.

When we attempt to ascertain the concrete stipulations represented by the $\text{D}^{\text{p}}\text{N}$ in the Qumran texts, we are likely to be disappointed. There are a number of instances where the $\text{D}^{\text{p}}\text{N}$ stand for a particular law or a body of laws and are actually linked to a demonstrative pronoun. For instance, 1QS IX:12-17 is introduced with $\text{D}^{\text{p}}\text{N} \text{N} \text{N} \text{N} \text{N}$ and is followed by a series of laws, preceded by infinitives, which describe the requirements which are to guide the community member in his relationship to other community members (lines 12-16) and to the outside world ($\text{S} \text{Y} \text{N} \text{N} \text{N}$) (line 17). Comparable bodies of legal material also occur elsewhere, the introduction to which are noteworthy:

1QS IX:12

גם זה החומר ש'ש'ש'ש'

1QS IX:21

ואתה תכונ' הדרך שמשכ'ל

1: Deut.4:6; 6:24; 16:12; 17:19; 26:16; Lev.26:46; Nu.30:16;

2: cf. Ex.29:28; 30:21; Lev.10:11;

3: Ex. 12:24;

1QS V:7 וְאֵלֶּה הַתְּכֻנֹת הַכְּנָס הַחֹמָיִם

The significant feature of these introductions is the interchangeable use of the words תְּכֻנָּה and חֹמָיִם. Furthermore, an analysis of the contents of these laws will reveal that they refer primarily to certain restrictions placed upon the community member in his relationship with the world of perversity outside¹. The "precepts", in this legal context, are the "norms of behaviour", the "rules of the way" (1QS V:7), the particular legal prescriptions which are peculiar to the sect.

One should carefully distinguish, however, between "the precepts" which apply to the laws of the community and the "precepts of God" which are used categorically to refer to the "law of God"². Whereas the former betray certain sectarian interests, the latter, in true apocalyptic fashion, do not specify any concrete stipulations to be adhered to. The חֹמָיִם are the norms of religious life to which the sectarian submits³, but again there is no attempt to specify the particular law which controls this life.

d) The Words of God

The word דְּבַר occurs quite frequently as a synonym for "the law" and is sometimes directly linked to it: דְּבַר הַחֹמָיִם⁴. The "words of the law" are the "words of God" (דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים)⁵, or simply,

1: cf. 1QS V:10; IX:17; IX:21;

2: M. Delcor, "Contribution à l'Etude de la législation des sectaires de Damas et de Qumran", RB 61, (1954), p. 540;

3: 1QS I:2,7,12,15; III:8; etc.;

4: 1Q22, I:4; II:9; CD XVI:5,8;

5: 1QS I:14;

"His words"¹ (דבריו). In 1QS I:14, the sectarian is called upon to "make no single step from all the words of God". This is somewhat reminiscent of 1QS VIII:17, where the member is prohibited from "turning aside from all that has been commanded". Again, its link with the פיו is evident in 1QS I:12. As was the case with the words תורה, מצוה and פיו, there is no reference to the particular, legal stipulations of the דבר.

3. Law and the History of Salvation

a) The Precepts of God

In our introduction to the study of the word פיו, it has been pointed out that, while it is frequently used as a synonym for "the law", it is seldom intended to specify or apply to any one particular law or code of legal material.

The word פיו is a derivation from the root פתח, "to engrave"². In the Qumran texts, this root has quite often strong historical and covenantal implications, expressing the ongoing process of God's activity, His providence, in history:

"All the seasons of God come to pass at their appointed time according to His decree concerning them in the mysteries of His prudence" (פיו דבריו פתח)³.

1: 1QS III:11; V:14,19;

2: W.Gesenius, Hebräisches Handwörterbuch, p.293;

3: 1QpH VII:13-14a;

"He shall bless Him (with an offering) of the lips at the times ordained by Him ($\alpha p p n$)"1.

"What can I say that is not already known... The world is graven ($p p n$) before Thee with the graving-tool of the reminder (or: "unto a memorial inscription")"2.

In this highly predestinarian context, the word $p n$ can denote that which has been divinely ordained or prescribed: i.e., the "laws" governing the elements of nature:

"Thou who hast spread out the heavens...together with the mighty winds according to the laws ($\alpha' p n$) which governed them"3.

The word $p n$ can denote also that which has been ordained in the life of man: i.e., human destiny:

"Thou hast not cast my lot among the congregation of vanity and hast not set my decree ($\alpha' p n$) in the assembly of hypocrites"4.

In these passages, the word $p n$ represents that which God has purposefully ordained in history. This interpretation is also evident when the texts speak of "the precept with the measuring-cord of the times"5; or, "Thy precepts", the precepts of God, which have been implanted by Him in the hearts of the men of "vision", enabling them to lead a life of "holiness unto (everlasting) generations"6.

In the above-quoted passage, the word "decree" ($p n$), with reference to human destiny, has acquired a decisive covenantal tone,

1: 1QS X:1; Translation by G.Vermes;

2: 1QH I:23b-24a;

3: 1QH I:9b,10b;

4: 1QH VII:34;

5: 1QS X:26;

6: 1QH XIV:5-7;

closely akin to the idea of election. These covenantal connotations of the ו'פיו are most clearly evident in the community's doctrine of revelation. By virtue of its election, the community has become the privileged recipient of the revelation of God's covenant purpose: "His works", "His mercy", His "secret of truth" and His "marvellous mysteries"¹. Significantly, the contents of this divine self-revelation to the elect is elsewhere qualified as "the precept(s)":

"Thy people Israel whom Thou hast chosen... those who are learned (or: have been taught) in the precepts... whose ear is opened and who hear profound things".²

"(And Thou hast created all) the host of knowledge to recount mighty deeds unto flesh and the true precepts... (And) Thou hast caused (Thine elect) to en(ter) the covenant with Thee and hast uncovered the heart of dust"³.

The relationship of "precepts"- "ear"- "profound things", in the first passage, is interesting in the light of 1QH XVIII:27-28:

"That Thou shouldst (pl)ace in an ear of dust (all) Thy words of (truth) and engrave the everlasting happenings...and cause him to enter the covenant with Thee".

God has revealed to the community "His precepts" (ו'פיו). These "precepts", revealed and disclosed to the elect community, embody God's "works", the total process of His activity in history, as well as His "mercy" and covenant purpose. Similar covenantal associations are evident in the use of the expression ו'פיו.

1: 1QH IV:32; XI:9-10a;

2: 1QM X:9b-11a;

3: 1QH XVIII:23-24a;

b) The Graven Decree

We have seen that the word פִּנ is a derivation from the root פִּנּוּ, "to engrave"¹. For this reason, it is to be understood as the "engraved", or recorded law, in contrast with שִׁשִּׁי, which represents the law transmitted through oral tradition². In this sense of "engraved law", or "graven decree", the word פִּנ is used several times in LQS:

"With the offering of the lips will I bless Him according to the decree that is graven for ever (כְּחֹן הַדִּבְרִים בְּרֵאשִׁי)"³.

"For the whole of my life the graven decree (כְּחֹן הַדִּבְרִים) shall be upon my tongue"⁴.

"I will pronounce my (sic) judgment according to my iniquities, my rebellions shall be before my eyes like the graven decree". (כְּחֹן הַדִּבְרִים)⁵.

In each case, the word פִּנ is linked to the form חֹן. Indisputably, this is a reference to the law which Moses brought down from Mount Sinai and which is called, "the writing of God, graven upon tables", (חֹן הַשִּׁחָה)⁶. However, while the Old Testament uses the word חֹן with reference to the particular legal prescriptions given by Yahweh to Israel in a covenant ceremony, the Qumran theologian has attached a radically different interpretation to the word. This becomes immediately evident in the light of its use in LQH:

1: cf. page 313;

2: J.v.d.Ploeg, "Studies in Hebrew Law", CBQ 12, (1950), p.250;

3: LQS X:6;

4: LQS X:8;

5: LQS X:11;

6: Ex.32:16;

"The world is graven (הכֹּסֶל חָפָק) before Thee
with the graving-tool of the reminder (or: "unto
a memorial inscription")¹. (חֲרוֹת זְכוּרֹן).

A. Dupont-Sommer has suggested that the words חֲרוֹת זְכוּרֹן are an allusion to the celestial tablets upon which the destinies of the world are engraved². Several examples of such an association of divine destiny with the heavenly tablets can be found in late Jewish literature³. However, any attempt to ascribe to these texts a doctrine of inescapable and absolute fatalism must be treated with caution⁴. This reference to the חֲרוֹת זְכוּרֹן, "memorial inscription", is more likely to be identified with the "book of remembrance" (סֵפֶר זְכוּרֹן) which occurs in CD:⁵

"And God will heed their words and will hear
and a book of remembrance shall be written⁶..
of them that fear God...until salvation and
justice are revealed to them that fear God"⁷.

The expressions חֲרוֹת זְכוּרֹן and סֵפֶר זְכוּרֹן do not apply to the legal prescriptions of the law, ~~still~~ less to a law of fatalism, but express the eternal and irrevocable nature of God's providence in history. His activity in the world is a "memorial inscription for all the unending seasons"⁸. It embodies the assurance of salvation

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- 1: 1QH I:23b-24a; M. Mansoor, Op.cit., p.101, emends חָפָק to read חָפָק;
2: A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, London, 1954, p.28;
3: Enoch 103:2-3; Jubilees 30:32;
4: S. Holm-Nielsen, Op.cit., p.25, (n.47): "There is no question in the contexts of an eternally written down eschatological judgment". cf. F. Nötscher, "Schicksalsglaube in Qumran und Umwelt", BZ 3, (1959), pp.
5: cf. F. Nötscher, "Himmliche Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran", RDQ 1, (1959), pp.405-412;
6: A. Dupont-Sommer reads "reminder".
7: CD XX:18b-20b; cf. Mal.3:16;
8: 1QH I: 24;

and redemption: "until salvation and justice are revealed to them that fear God". These covenantal implications are very clearly evident in the use of חרות in LQM:

"Thou hast engraved for them (חרותם) Thy covenant of peace with the burin of life (בחרט ה' י"ד), that (the sons of light) may reign in all the times of the ages"¹.

"Thou hast undertaken to fi(11 Thy servant) with grace and hast favoured me with Thy spirit of mercy...Thine, Thine is righteousness for Thou hast made (or: inscribed) ever(y spirit)"².

Hence, the expression חרות פיו is not based on a legalistic understanding of "law", but conveys the unchangeable character of God's activity in history, expressing itself in "grace", "mercy" and a "covenant of peace".

c) The Words of God

A particularly good example of the community's conception of covenant law is perceptible in the use of the word דבר, which, especially in LQH, has a profound theological significance.

Already in the Old Testament, the strong theological note of God's דבר is discernible³. Through His "word", Yahweh reveals Himself as the living and saving God, in contrast with the pagan

1: LQM XII:3;

2: LQH XVI: 8b-9a; 9b; The word used for "inscribe" is חרש from the root חרש. It is probably based on Daniel 10:21, where it is used with reference to an "inscription" found in the "book of truth" (כפב אדר), which is again reminiscent of CD XX:19;

3: cf. J.Hempel, "Wort Gottes und Schicksal", FS, A.Bertholet, Tübingen, 1950, pp.222-232;

deities who do not answer to save man when he cries to them¹. "The word of God" is more than the promise of the old prophets recorded in scripture. It is the dynamic action and revelation of God in the total framework of history². In the earliest sources of the Old Testament, the דבר represent the will of Yahweh transmitted to Israel in the form of brief apodictic declarations³. In other texts, "the word" is understood more theologically as the medium through which Yahweh makes known the meaning of events. He is the beginning and the end and He knows the eventual outcome of history⁴. "The word" represents the operative reality of a God whose purpose cannot be hindered:

"The word of our God will stand for ever"⁵.

For the faithful remnant of Israel, this immovable purpose of God in history is concretely manifested in election:

"He is mindful of His covenant for ever, of the word that He commanded, for a thousand generations, the covenant which He made with Abraham"⁶.

"The Word of God" represents the assurance of divine protection and preservation⁷, and embodies the hope of redemption in the future⁸.

In true Old Testament tradition, the Qumran texts similarly

1: Is.46:7b;

2: E.Jacob, Op.cit., p.129: "It is impossible to study the theology of the word without relating it to the revelation of God in history". cf. H.Ringgren, Word and Wisdom, Lund, 1947, pp.157-164;

3: Ex.20:1; 24:3,4,8; 34:1,27,28;

4: Is.41:4; 43:10; 44:6; 48:12;

5: Is.40:8b; cf. Is.55:11;

6: Ps.105:8; cf. vs.42;

7: Ps.107:20;

8: Ps.130:5;

speak of "the word(s)" as divine action in history:

"I know that the inclination of every spirit is in Thy hand (and that) Thou hast ordained (the way of every man)...before ever creating him. And how can any man change Thy words? Thou alone has (created) the just and established him from his mother's womb...that he may be preserved in Thy covenant...Thou hast created the wicked (for the time) of Thy (wr)ath and hast set them apart from their mother's womb for the Day of Massacre"¹.

"The word of God" embraces the irrevocable process of divinely inspired activity in the context of history. This activity is essentially purposeful and covenantal: God has pre-ordained the destiny of the wicked to rejection and that of the righteous to election. This divinely appointed plan for history will remain fixed and unchanged until the final end², for how can any man change God's "word"? This immovable nature of the divine "word" will enable the community to enjoy once again the privileges of election and redemption:

"It is by Thy goodness alone that man is justified and by the immensity of Thy mer(cy) (For) Thou wilt ...fi(11) him (with abundance of pleasure with everlasting bliss and length of days...Thy word shall not turn back³."

"The word of God" is intimately linked to the divine covenant purpose which pre-ordains the destinies of the righteous and the wicked

1: 1QH XV:13-17;

2: The correlation which exists between the "word" and the pre-ordination of the righteous and the wicked, is reminiscent of a passage in 1QS, which deals with the activities and destinies of the two spirits. cf. 1QS III:15-17; IV:16-17; This leads us to suggest that the dualism of Qumran is essentially a covenantal one. The two spirits, ordained and controlled by the covenantal purpose of God, are represented by the righteous and the wicked.

3: 1QH XIII:16b-18; cf. line 19;

and expresses itself dynamically in history in their election to and rejection from the covenant.

3. Law and the History of Salvation (Section 2)

a) Other Synonyms for Law

In addition to the synonyms treated above, one finds other concepts which, while not being directly synonymous with "the law", nevertheless stand in closest relationship to it:

"All the volunteers that cling to His truth shall bring all their understanding and powers and possessions into the community of God, to purify their understanding in the truth of the precepts of God, and to order their powers according to the perfection of His ways...they shall make no single step from all the words of God...they shall not depart from His precepts of truth"¹.

"They have walked in the way which is not good and have despised (Thy) Co(venant)...their soul has detested Thy (precepts) and they have not delighted in all Thy commands...Thou hast created all (them that despise) Thy (will)"².

"For none of them that approach Thee can rebel against the commands of Thy mouth, and none that know Thee can hate Thy words. For Thou art righteous and all Thine elect are truth"³.

"Causing me to go forward in Thy will...them that keep (Thy) com(mandme)nts...and that no blow may (be) for him a cause of stumbling aside from the precepts of Thy covenant"⁴.

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- 1: 1QS I:11-15;
2: 1QH XV:18-19;
3: 1QH XIV:14b-15;
4: 1QH XVI:12b,13b,15b;

"Them that have departed from the way and loathed the precept"¹.

In each one of these quotations, the synonyms for "law" are closely linked to the concepts of "truth", "way" and "will". The members of the community dedicate themselves to observe God's "truth", "His ways" and "His will". The opponents of the community, on the other hand, are accused of having despised God's "covenant", His "way" and His "will". These expressions are so closely tied to the concepts of "law", the "commands", the "words" and the "precepts", that one could almost assume them to be synonymous with "law". It should be quite apparent, therefore, that any attempt to define the community's understanding of covenant law must take into consideration the theological implications of these associated concepts.

b) The Way of God

The word $\gamma\eta$ is often linked to a possessive pronoun relating it to God. Thus one finds expressions such as: "His ways"², "His ways of truth"³, "Thy ways"⁴, "The ways of God"⁵, "The way of His heart"⁶.

A similar tendency to link the "way" with "God" occurs in other apocalyptic writing⁷. Even a superficial scrutiny of these texts will

1: CD II:6;
2: 1QS II:2; CD:14-16;
3: CD III:15;
4: 1QH VII:31;
5: 1QS III:10; CD XX:18;
6: CD I:11; 1QH IV:18; VI:21;
7: cf. D.Rössler, Op.cit., p.52;

reveal that the expression "way of God", almost invariably, expresses the activity of God in the context of historical events.¹ In a very similar fashion, it is used in the Qumran texts to denote the unchanging character of God's historical purpose:

"Thou art a God of eternity and all Thy ways are established from everlasting to everlasting"².

This activity of God, expressed through the word "way", is never looked upon as being arbitrarily operative, but as purposefully directed. It takes on concrete form in the rejection of those who have proven themselves to be unfaithful to the covenant and the election of those who have responded to its obligations:

"A teacher of righteousness to lead them in the way of His heart and to make known to the last generations what He (would do) to the last generation"³.

"He will draw back my soul from the Pit and establish my steps in the way. He has caused me to approach by His mercy..."⁴.

"To make perfect a way for the sons of men, that all His works may know (or: that they may know all His works), the might of His power and the greatness of His mercy."⁵.

In these examples, the "way" is regarded as the sphere of God's purposeful and covenantal activity. This activity is not neutral or indifferent, but is motivated by a God who is essentially personal and who responds according to His covenant purpose.

1: cf. D.Rössler, Op.cit., p.52;

2: 1QH VII:31b;

3: CD I:11f;

4: 1QS XI:13;

5: 1QH IV:32;

c) The Truth of God

Our previous excursion into the meaning of "law" and its associated synonyms has given us some insight into the apocalyptic conception of history. History is not seen as a succession of isolated events which move arbitrarily toward an indefinite and obscure destiny. Rather, it is seen in its totality as the vehicle through which God reveals His purpose which is being controlled by Him and directed by Him toward a determined end¹.

The Qumran interpretation of אֱמֶת, "truth", has been strongly coloured by this apocalyptic conception of history. This is already evident in its association with דְּבַר, "the word":

"All their deeds are in Thy truth. Thou wilt judge them in Thy great loving-kindness and in the multitude of Thy mercies and in the abundance of Thy pardon, teaching them according to Thy word...according to the uprightness of Thy truth"².

"I know that Thy word is truth, and that righteousness is in Thy hand; that all knowledge is in Thy purpose"³.

The word "truth", in these passages, is not conceptualized as intellectual "truth", nor is it based on a legalistic understanding of "law". Rather, it is rooted in the apocalyptic view of history and expresses the dynamic and redemptive activity of God in history⁴: His

1: cf. Chapter III, page 33;

2: 1QH VI:9-10; Translation by G.Vermes.

3: 1QH XI:7-8a; Translation by G.Vermes.

4: This dynamic quality is evident in an expression, such as אֱמֶת וּפְעָלָהּ, "His works of truth". cf. 1QS I:9, 1QH I:27,30; X:17,20; 1QM XIII:1,2,; XIV:12; The word "works" expresses the dynamic and operative quality of God's "truth".

"loving-kindness", His "mercies", His "pardon", the entire scope of His redemptive covenant purpose. Like the word אמת, the activity of God's "truth" is motivated and controlled by His purpose for history:

"Blessed be the God of Israel because of all His plan of holiness and His works of truth"¹.

Through the intervention of His "truth" in the processes of historical events, God seeks to accomplish His purpose for man. This purpose reaches beyond contemporary events to the end and fulfillment of time, when God's "truth" will be established in all its glory. He Himself is "truth"² and it is His insatiable desire to establish His "truth" in the fulfillment of history when His purpose will be vindicated for all time. Thus, the texts frequently speak of "eternal truth"³:

"And may Thy truth shine out unto everlasting glory and happiness without end"
(or: "eternal peace")⁴.

"God has set an end for the existence of perversity; and at the time of final judgment He will destroy it for ever. Then truth shall arise in the world for ever"⁵.

God's "truth" will be realized "at the time of final judgment" and will embody the final vindication of God's rule. Evil will come under the sword of judgment and "His truth (will) shine out unto everlasting glory"⁶.

1: 1QM XIII:2b; J.v.d.Ploeg, Op.cit., p.48 : "Sa sainte providence".

2: 1QH IV:40;

3: 1QS IX:4;

4: 1QH XI:26b-27a;

5: 1QS IV:18b-19a; cf. Is.42:3; Hab.1:4;

6: cf. 1QH III:35; ("Glory of His truth").

The idea of the vindication of God's "truth" in the fulfillment of history through the enactment of judgment is so dominant, that sometimes the words נאן and נאן appear to be synonymous:

"To bring down upon the (head of Thy enemies) the reward of the wicked and to justify Thy judgment of truth in the midst of all the sons of men"¹.

"Thou art a God of truth and Thou (wilt destroy) all perversity (in the world)"².

God's "truth" will find complete fulfillment in the end of time when He will exercise His judgment over the faithless and reject them.

The activity of divine "truth" is not confined to the eschatological sphere. Frequently, the texts express the idea that God's judgment, the vehicle of His "truth", has already been realized among the elect remnant:³

"Thou wilt soon raise up survivors among Thy people and a remnant in the midst of Thine inheritance...All their deeds are in Thy truth and Thou wilt judge them with abundant mercy and pardon"⁴.

"He will draw me near by His grace, and by His mercy will He bring my justification. He will judge me in the righteousness of His truth and in the greatness of His goodness He will pardon all my sins"⁵.

1: 1QH f. 5:10; Translation by M.Mansoor.

2: 1QH XV:25. M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.184,(n.14), restores נאן נאן , on the basis of 1QH XIV:16;

3: F.Nötscher, Theologische Terminologie, p.162, prefers to call this "innerzeitliches Gericht Gottes", and comments: "Zurechtweisungen, Heimsuchungen und Plagen, deren pädagogischen Heilszweck man erkennt, erlebt man bereits jetzt gegenwärtig; das Urteil Gottes, das sie verhängt, ist schon ergangen".

4: 1QH VI:8-9a;

5: 1QS XI:14; Translation by G.Vermes.

The exercise of divine "truth" and the enactment of divine "judgment" upon the community are closely related. It is God's will to establish His "truth" through the exercise of His "judgment" upon evil and the total rejection of the wayward from the sphere of His covenant¹. But "judgment" is not only total extermination, but also the activity through which God separates the wicked from the righteous, "distinguishing ...between the just and the guilty"². The former, we have seen, are not exempt from divine "judgment". But instead of being rejected, through the "righteousness" ($\pi\rho\tau\varsigma$) of His "truth", they are drawn into closer harmony with Him³. The judgment of God among His elect is not conceived as total rejection, but as the expression of His "mercy", "grace" and "pardon"⁴. This remarkable thought of the expiatory value of divine "truth" and "judgment" lies behind other passages in which the activity of this "truth" or "judgment" is qualified as "righteousness"⁵, as something to be chosen rather than avoided⁶:

"Righteousness and truth are Thy judgments towards us"⁷.

"To succour the remnant and the survivors of the covenant that they may re(count) Thy works of truth and the judgment of Thy marvellous lofty deeds"⁸.

1: 1QH XV:25;

2: 1QH VII:12;

3: 1QH VII:7-9; *for*

4: F.Nötscher, Theologischen Terminologie, p.162: "Verzeihung und grosse Barmherzigkeit Gottes erwartet man ebenso vom Gericht...". cf. p.161;

5: 1QH I:30, ("righteous judgments": $\pi\rho\tau\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma$).

6: 1QS X:13a; 1QH IX:9b-10a;

7: CD XX:30;

8: 1QM XIII:8b-9a;

"And just (or: "righteous") is God who has fulfilled His judgment against us and against our fathers. But He extends His gracious mercy towards us for ever and ever"¹.

"Thy judgments I will declare righteous. For I know Thy truth and have loved my judgment"².

In many other contexts, the word "truth" has expiatory connotations and is closely related to the reconciling activity of God among His elect:

"Thou causest all Thy sons of truth to enter into pardon before Thee, (to puri)fy them of their sins"³.

"In His truth shall he be cleansed of all his sins"⁴.

"Blessed be Thou, O God of mercy and favour, because of...the abundance of Thy truth and the multitude of Thy favours in all Thy works"⁵.

God's "truth" is thus the expression of His dynamic activity in history which is controlled by His purpose for history. This purpose takes on concrete form through the execution of His judgment. For the faithless this means eternal rejection. For the righteous, this means mercy and compassion.

It is this reconciling and atoning function of God's "truth" among the elect, which explains the frequent association of this word with the concepts of "election" and "redemption":

"The eternal people is Thine and Thou hast

1: 1QS I:26-II:1a;

2: 1QH IX:9b-10a;

3: 1QH VII:30;

4: 1QS III:7b-8a; cf. 1QS IV:21;

5: 1QH XI:29-30a; cf. 1QH XVI:16; XVIII:13,14;

"caused us to fall in the lot of light unto Thy truth"¹.

"The council of the community shall be established in truth...they are the witnesses of truth unto judgment and the chosen of loving-kindness"².

The expression "witnesses of truth unto judgment" (09005 50X 2ty) is probably to be understood in the light of Is.43:10,

"You are my witnesses says the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen".

The members of the community are the elect, set apart to "witness" the establishment and vindication of God's "truth", when He will separate the righteous from the faithless through the exercise of His "judgment". The community feels itself to be a participant in the unfolding process of God's covenant purpose: they are "witnesses of truth".

This covenantal activity, His "judgment" and His "mercy", God has mediated to the community in a special revelation:

"Thou hast appeared unto me from my youth (giving) understanding of Thy judgment... and hast upheld me by certain truth"³.

"Thou hast made known to them the counsel of Thy truth, and has taught them Thy marvellous mysteries"⁴.

"Unto Thy sons of truth Thou hast given under(standing)...Thou hast given an abundant portion of the knowledge of Thy truth ... My heart has rejoiced in Thy covenant and

1: 1QH VII:30;

2: 1QS VIII:5-6a;

3: 1QH IX:31b-32a;

4: 1QH XI:16b-17a; Translation by G.Vermes.

Thy truth fills my soul with delights"¹.

"To open Thy f(aws) (or: "fountain") of truth to the creature whom Thou hast upheld... that according to Thy truth (he may be) the one who announces good tidings (in the time of Thy goodness..."².

We may conclude that the word "truth" is closely related to covenantal thoughtforms, expressing the operation of God's saving and redeeming activity in the arena of history. It is divine purpose which, governed by "righteousness", executes judgment upon the wicked and "grace" and "pardon" upon the community, the "men of truth" and "elect of righteousness"³. This covenant purpose, or "truth", has been conveyed to the elect community through the medium of revelation.

d) The Will of God

The idea of divine control over the events of history is often expressed through the use of the word לְפָנֶיךָ . God's "will", or לְפָנֶיךָ , is that which predestines and sustains the events and creatures of time:

"Thou knewest all the works which creatures would accomplish during all ages for ever;...nothing is known without Thy will" (לְפָנֶיךָ)⁴.

Again, the word לְפָנֶיךָ is rooted in the community's conception of history as the sphere of the unfolding of God's purpose. The "will" of God does not move history, in an automatic and arbitrary sense, toward

1: 1QH X:27a; 28b-29a; 30b-31a;

2: 1QH XVIII:12-13;

3: cf. Chapter VIII, page 159f.

4: 1QH I:7b-8;

a predetermined and fatalistic end. Rather, God's "will" is that which pervades history with purpose and meaning, reaching its epitome and finest fulfillment in the election of the community to the covenant:

"They are the witnesses of truth unto judgment and the chosen of loving-kindness (or: "chosen by divine will:" יִסְרָאֵל) appointed to offer expiation for the earth"¹.

"The elect of the time in accordance with the decision of His will"².

"According to Thy loving-kindness (or: "will") to the elect among men"³.

"Thou hast chosen for Thyself a people, in the time of Thy good-will" (יְיָ יֵשְׁרָאֵל יְרַחֵם)⁴.

One designation of the members of the community is the term יִסְרָאֵל בְּנֵי, "sons of His will"⁵. E.Vogt⁶ and C.-H. Hunzinger⁷ have pointed out that, prior to the discovery of the texts, there was no text in existence in which the term "sons of His will" is used to refer to a whole body of men. Vogt suggests that this title falls within the same category as a host of others which designate the community as God's elect: "sons of light"⁸, "sons of righteousness"⁹, "sons of truth"¹⁰, "members of (the) covenant"¹¹, "men of the lot of God"¹²,

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- 1: 1QS VIII:5b-6;
 - 2: 1QS IX:14b-15a;
 - 3: 1QS XI:16;
 - 4: 1Q 34bis, II:5;
 - 5: 1QH IV:32; XI:9;
 - 6: E.Vogt, Op.cit., in K.Stendahl, The Scrolls and the New Testament, p.114f.
 - 7: C.-H.Hunzinger, "Neues Licht auf Lc.2:14, ἀνθρώποι εὐδοκίᾳ", ZNW 44, (1952/53), pp.85-90;
 - 8: 1QS I:9; II:16;
 - 9: 1QS III:20,22;
 - 10: 1QS IV:5;
 - 11: 1QS VI:19;
 - 12: 1QS II:2;

"elect among men"¹ and "chosen by divine will"². According to Vogt, the expression "good will toward men" of Luke 2:14 is an inaccurate translation and, in the light of the Qumran parallel, should be rendered "men of God's good-will", or "God's elect".

The expression 7157 refers, thus, to God's purpose or "will" which predestines history, controls history and culminates in the election of the community to the covenant³. Like the word 727, it embraces the total process of historical development, influencing it not arbitrarily but purposefully. God's 7157 is His covenant purpose being actualized in history.

4. Law and Covenant Faith

a) The Precepts of God

i) Revelation and Faith

The historical and covenantal implications, which were found to be evident in the use of the word 717, throw a valuable light upon the accusations which are often raised against the opponents of the community:

1: 1QS XI:16;

2: 1QS VIII:6;

3: F.Nötscher, Op.cit., BZ 3, (1959), p.224: "Rason Gottes tritt dabei in ihrer doppelten Bedeutung an den Menschen heran: als unerforschlicher und unergründlicher Wille Gottes, dessen Forderungen der Erwählte zu entsprechen hat, und als göttliches Wohlgefallen, als Gunst und Gnade, die er empfängt ohne darauf Anspruch zu haben".

"For they are not counted in His covenant for they have not inquired nor sought Him concerning His precepts (ל'פיו) in order to know the hidden matters...and they have treated with insolence matters revealed"¹.

Failure to respect the "matters revealed", or "His precepts", is here understood as a failure to "seek" God", an act of disloyalty to God Himself which cannot be tolerated in the covenant. Again, in 1QpH VIII:17 and 1QpH VIII:10 a somewhat similar idea appears to be implied:

"The priest who turned against the (lig)ht of the precepts (of God)"².

"The wicked priest...abandoned God and betrayed the precepts"³.

The priest is accused of rebellion against the revealed "precepts of God" which is, essentially, an act of rebellion against God. This relationship between the "precepts", "God" and the "covenant" can be amplified with reference to 1QpH II:

"The wicked (will see i)t, but will not believe in the precepts of (God)"⁴.

"They did not believe in the covenant of God"⁵.

"Who will not believe when they hear all the things which will be(fall) the last generation"⁶.

"With a blaspheming tongue (they) have opened their mouth against the precepts of the covenant of God, saying, 'They are not true' "⁷.

1: 1QS V:11-12a;

2: This translation is based on an emendation suggested by K.Elliger, Op. cit., p.40, who reads: (ל'פיו) ל'פיו ל'פיו)

3: "The wicked priest" is referred to in line 8a;

4: 1QpH II:14b-15a;

5: 1QpH II:3b-4a;

6: 1QpH II:6-7;

7: CD V:12;

Here, failure to respond to the revealed "precepts of God" is understood as "not believing", a lack of faith in God's "covenant" and God's redemptive intentions for man.

On the basis of the above-quoted passages, we may conclude that man's response to the revealed "precepts of God", to "God" and His covenant purpose, is understood to be an essential and integral element of one and the same act of covenant allegiance. The single accusation is that the apponents have treated with scorn the "precepts of the covenant of God", have "not believed in them" and have said concerning them, "they are not true" (1QS V:11-12; 1QpH II:14-15; CD V:12). They have "not believed in the covenant of God" and have "abandoned God" and His purpose: "the things which will be(fall) the last generation" (1QpH VIII:10; 1QpH II:3b-4a,6-7).

The disobedience of the wayward generation stands in direct contrast with the obedience of the community. The members of the community are resolved to "seek God in His (precepts)"¹ and to "seek His will"². This seeking is not based on gnostic speculation, but is grounded in the community's doctrine of revelation³. God has given the community a "new revelation" concerning the "mysteries" of His covenantal and redemptive purpose in history⁴. The community members are those "who are learned in the precepts", who by virtue of this revelation have been introduced to the "profound things" of

1: 1QS I:2; cf. Chapter XII, p.274.

2: 1QS V:9.

3: Chapter XII, p.265.

4: Chapter XIII, pp.293-296.

God¹. Not only are they the passive recipients of a special revelation, but also those who actively respond to its implications, "to all that is revealed season by season"². This response is again conceived as a act of faith in God's covenant activity. The men of our community dedicate themselves

"to practise the precepts of God in the covenant of grace"³.

For

"by his soul's humility towards all the precepts of God shall his flesh be cleansed"⁴.

Elsewhere, they are said

"to purify their understanding in the truth of the precepts of God"⁵.

This "truth" is the "truth" of divine "judgment" upon perversity⁶ and the "truth" through which the sectarian will be "cleansed of all his sins"⁷. The community members seek to acquire an "understanding" of this divine activity within history: God's judgment and atoning power. Furthermore, it is upon an acceptance of and faith in this divine activity that the covenant will rest and survive eternally:

"By the spirit of uprightness and humility shall his iniquity be atoned. By his soul's humility towards all the precepts of God shall his flesh be cleansed....Then will he please God with agreeable expiation and it will obtain for him the covenant of the eternal community"⁸.

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- 1: LQM X:9a-10a;
2: LQS VIII:15;
3: LQS I:7-8a;
4: LQS III:8b;
5: LQS I:12;
6: LQS VIII:6; cf. pp.326-327;
7: LQS III:8; cf. p.328;
8: LQS III:7b-8; 11-12a;

The word "precept of God", we have seen, does not specify any one particular law, but has strong connections with the concept of salvation history, expressing the reality of God's redemptive activity and covenant purpose in human history. The community members are the privileged participants in a "covenant according to the everlasting precepts"¹. To this reality of God's redemptive providence, the community members surrender themselves in submission and dedicated faith.

b) The Graven Decree

i) Thanksgiving and Faith

Our previous excursion into the meaning of the expression רִצְוֹן נִתְּנָה has disclosed its close proximity to the concept of salvation history. Whereas in the Old Testament the "graven decree" refers invariably to the legal and recorded demands of the law, in these texts it is understood as an expression of God's providence operative in history. We shall now attempt to discover how covenant obedience can be conceived in relation to this understanding of law.

The expression occurs in the context of a highly spiritual passage in which the writer describes his constant and unflagging devotion to God. His dedication is complete and absolute, for he is continually occupied in worship and praise:

1: 1QS VIII:10a; On the interpretation of this expression "the precepts", cf. pp.313-315;

"At the beginning of every enterprise of my hands or feet I will bless His name; at the beginning of every activity, when I go out and return, when I sit and rise up and when I retire to bed I will utter cries of joy unto Him. And I will bless Him with the offering of that which issues from out of my lips"¹.

The psalmist praises God at the beginning and end of each day: at his "going out" and "returning", at his "rising" and "retiring to bed", he utters "cries of joy" to Him. This is interestingly amplified in another passage in which there occurs a reference to the same periods of worship:

"When day comes and the night, I will enter the covenant of God; when night and morning depart, I will recite His precepts"².

The recurring life of worship is here understood as the renewal of man's pledge to the demands of the "covenant of God". The question arises: "what is precisely involved in this worship as an act of covenant loyalty?".

The passages quoted above undoubtedly refer to the precisely arranged periods of worship, which were observed by the entire Essene community, at the beginning of each day and night³. That this was a recurring and systematic practice is suggested by the word $\tau' \delta \eta$, which has become linked to these periods⁴. For this reason, it has

1: 1QS X:13-14;

2: 1QS X:10;

3: Flavius Josephus refers to one such period: "And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary; for before sunrising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising". cf. Flavius Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, Book II, Chapter viii, Par.5; edited by W. Whiston, The Works of Flavius Josephus, London-Edinburgh; cf. F.M. Cross, Op.cit.,

4: 1QS VI:7; 1QH XII:4; 1QM II:2a,2b; (p.77,(n.123));

become customary to interpret these references to allude to the morning and evening Tamid observances, which occupied such an important place in the religious and cultic life of Judaism¹.

Unfortunately, fragments and survivals of the liturgical formulations of these cultic events are neither numerous nor extensive². The result is that our knowledge of the structure and components of this liturgy is scanty and incomplete. However, in lines 16 and 17 of 1QS X, we are given more information concerning the possible structure of this liturgy. It opens with the words "I will bless Him" and goes on to describe and enumerate the providential activities of God in history. It is quite possible that the writer is making an allusion to a "prayer of thanksgiving" which may have constituted an important part of the Tamid observance. That such a prayer actually existed, in connection with the Tamid service, is evident in 1QH XII:4 where there is a reference to a "psalm of thanksgiving" and "prayers" (סגולות ופיוטים), which were said or sung in the morning and in the evening (cf. lines 4b-5a; 7b)³. A word for word account of such a "prayer" or "psalm" of "thanksgiving" has been preserved in 1QM XIV. This "prayer" was also said "at the coming of day and night and (when) evening and morning depart"⁴. It is thus highly probable that it was actually used at the Tamid observances of the community. This

1: cf. A.Arens, Op.cit., p.152;

2: F.M.Cross, Op.cit., p.77,(n.123), refers to a liturgical papyrus, "containing among other things the sunrise prayer".

3: The word פיוט actually occurs in line 4;

4: 1QM XIV:14;

possibility is supported by the striking verbal parallels which exist between 1QS X:16-17 and 1QM XIV:4-14.

- 1QS X:16a - "I will bless Him () נברך)".
- 1QM XIV:4b - "Blessed () נברך be the God of Israel".
- 1QS X:16b - "And (I) will meditate on His might".
() נדרתו
- :17b - "All His works are truth" () נאמ".
- 1QM XIV:12b-13a - "And we, Thy holy people, shall praise Thy name because of Thy works of truth"
() נאמ ושלום
"And we shall exalt (Thy) ma(gnificence) because of Thy lofty deeds (or: "deeds of might":) נדרתו)".
- 1QS X:16c - "I will lean on His favours every day".
() נדון
- 1QM XIV:8b - "And we...(shall praise) Thy name, O God of favours () נדון who has kept the covenant with our fathers".
- 1QS X:17d - "(I) will magnify Him also because of His salvation" () נשׁוּל¹.
- 1QM XIV:4c - "Blessed be the God of Israel who keeps favour unto His covenant and testimonies of salvation () נשׁוּל to the people whom He has redeemed".

The central theme of the "prayer of thanksgiving" is in the form of a historical prologue, in which the worshipper recapitulates and summarizes the saving activity of God: His "might", His "works of truth", His "favours" and "salvation".

The idea of divine providence, expressed in the "prayer of

1: Translation by G.Vermes.

thanksgiving" has come close to the meaning of the expression "graven decree" (סִימָן פִּינָן), which for the community was the symbol of its destiny of redemption¹. When, therefore, it is said that the community blesses God "with the offering of the lips...according to the decree that is graven for ever" (1QS X:6), the implications are clear: the community expresses its thanksgiving to God in response to His providential care, "according to the key of His everlasting favour" (line 4b). 1QS X:8 points in the same direction:

"For the whole of my life the graven decree
shall be upon my tongue as a fruit of praise
and the offering of my lips"².

It is thanksgiving for God's elective and redemptive work which constitutes the central theme of the prayer. It is to the "God of favours", who "keeps favour unto His covenant", that the community raises its hymns of thanksgiving.

1: Cf. pp.316-318;

2: A.Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings, p.97,(n.1), equates the "graven decree" with the "decree of the time" of 1QS IX:14, "the divine law regulating the order of the world and the harmonious succession of seasons". Hence, the "graven decree" is "an allusion to the divine tables on which all destiny and all the appointed times are inscribed". It is evident, however, that the community understood this "divine law" as the movement of divine will, or providence, in history, in personal and covenantal relationships, rather than as the inevitable, fateful process of a detached cosmic power. This argument is supported by the following considerations: (a) The emphatic covenantal connotations of the words פִּינָן and סִימָן when used separately in other contexts. b) The parallel statements of lines 4b and 6a: "according to the key of His everlasting favour"; according to the Decree that is graven for ever". c) In line 8, the psalmist speaks of the "graven decree" which lies upon his tongue "as a fruit of praise and the offering of the lips". The "graven decree" can refer only to the object of his thanksgiving: God's "favours" and "salvation". cf. W.H.Brownlee, *Op.cit.*, p.41,(n.21).

The worshipper's "spiritual symphony" of thanksgiving to the God of His salvation, an act repeated twice daily, was in itself a declaration of renewed allegiance to the "covenant of God":

"I will sing in knowledge, and my whole lyre shall throb to the glory of God, and my lute and harp to the holy order which He has made. I will raise the flute of my lips because of His righteous measuring-cord. When day comes and the night, I will enter the covenant of God;¹"

The human pledge of covenant allegiance embraces, in a comprehensive sense, an act of thanksgiving, a spiritual response of the soul toward the God of providence and salvation.

c) The Words of God

i) Revelation and Faith

In the light of the close proximity of the "word(s) of God" to the idea of salvation history, it is worthwhile to observe its use in relation to the covenant:

"When the wicked arose against Thy covenant
and the wretched against Thy word"².

Obedience to the "word" of God is understood as an essential aspect of man's allegiance to the covenant. A similar relationship between "word" and "covenant" exists in 1QS V:19.

"They are all vanity who know not His covenant,

1: 1QS X:9-10;
2: 1QH IV:34b-35a;

and He will destroy from the world all them
that despise His word".

The expression לִפְנֵי ה' is an unusual one and occurs only rarely in the texts¹. In 1QH XV:18, it is God's "covenant" which is "despised" (לִפְנֵי ה')², while in CD I:2, it is God Himself who is the object of the verb (לִפְנֵי ה')³. The legal implications in this act of covenant disloyalty appear to be absent here: to rebel against the "word" is not so much rebellion against any particular law as against the "covenant" or "God" Himself⁴. Furthermore, in view of the relationship between the "word of God" and the concept of salvation history, this could be understood as an attitude of disrespect for or lack of faith in God's redemptive plan. To reject the "word of God" could then be understood as a rejection of God's assurance of redemption which that word embodies. This means that the accent within the covenant is not on obedience of cultic-legalistic prescriptions, but on man's willingness to submit to God and His purpose for man.

The plausibility of the suggestions, made above, can be further expanded and confirmed with reference to the phrase לִפְנֵי ה'

1: 1QH IV:12,22; VII:22; CD I:2;

2: For the restoration לִפְנֵי ה' , cf. M.Mansoor, Op.cit., p.184,(n.3); S.Holm-Nielsen, Op.cit., p.231; Note the use of the verb לִפְנֵי ה' , "to despise", in relation to "the law" (1QpH I:11; V:12) "the ways of God" (1QS II:25) and "covenant" (CD XX:11).

3: Cf. 1QH IV:32;

4: E.Jacob, Op.cit., p.129: "The circumstances in which these 'debarim' are uttered, their link with the establishment of the covenant, have conferred upon them an authority which in Judaism became merged with that of God Himself".

which has been equated with the rejection of the "word". It is sometimes translated as "those who do not recognize His covenant"¹. While this translation is technically correct, it fails to point out the real implications involved in this statement. It literally means, "those who do not know His covenant". The term "to know", or "knowledge", does not fall within the category of gnostic wisdom, acquired through abstraction or speculation². Rather, it signifies that which has been acquired by virtue of revelation³:

"Thou hast given me to know Thy marvellous mysteries and hast manifested Thy power unto me in Thy marvellous counsel and hast done wonders to many because of Thy glory and to make known Thy mighty works to all the living"⁴.

"Thou...hadst sealed up Thy law within (me) (un)til the time of the revealing of Thy salvation to me"⁵.

Through the revelation of His "law", His "mysteries" and His "secrets", God mediates to the community the assurance of its destiny of salvation and redemption within the providence of His care. "Knowledge" is knowledge of this revealed assurance:

"I know that the inclination (or; "purpose") of every spirit is in Thy hand"⁶.

It is precisely man's acceptance of this revealed "knowledge", of this assurance of redemption, which constitutes true covenant obedience:

1: Cf. W.H.Brownlee, Op.cit., p.20.

2: Cf. Chapter XIII, pp. 284-286.

3: Cf. B.Reicke, Op.cit., NTS 1, (1954), pp.137-141.

4: 1QH IV:27b-29a;

5: 1QH V:11b-12a;

6: 1QH XV:13;

"Whoever scorns to enter the (ways of Go)d in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall not pass into His community of truth. For his soul has loathed the teachings of knowledge, he has not established (within him) the ordinances of righteousness (or: "mishpatim") by conversion of his life"¹.

The covenant hinges on a revelation ("teachings") of "knowledge" and on man's response to this revelation. This "knowledge" is acquired by virtue of the "mishpatim", the decisions which have arisen from a study of God's word². Refusal on the part of man to accept this revealed "knowledge" is a refusal of the "word" of God and constitutes a violation of the covenant pledge:

"For (they have) not heeded Thy (voice) nor lent their ear to Thy word; for they have said of the vision of knowledge, it is not true.... They who have fallen away from Thy covenant"³.

The word "vision" has been used elsewhere in connection with the "mysteries of God" and stresses the divine initiative in the process of their revelation⁴. "Knowledge" is the end-product of this revelation ("vision of knowledge"). The opponents of the community are accused of having treated with contempt the revelation of God's "word", the assurance of His providential and redemptive purpose in history: they have not given ear to His "word" and "have said of the vision of knowledge, it is not true". A similar accusation has been noted in connection with "the precepts of the covenant of God":

1: 1QS II:25-III:1

2: Cf. Chapter XII, pp.267-270

3: 1QH IV:17,19

4: Cf. Chapter XIII, p.288

"With a blaspheming tongue (they) have opened their mouth against the precepts of the covenant of God, saying, 'They are not true' "¹.

Failure to respond to God's redemptive purpose is qualified as "walking in stubbornness of heart" (1QS II:26), as turning one's "soul" against revealed "knowledge" (1QS III:1), refusing "conversion of life" (1QS III:1) and as "falling away from the covenant" (1QH IV:19). Hence, the covenant is founded on man's response to a revelation. This response is essentially a spiritual disposition of the "soul", a religious attitude of "faith" in and reliance upon God and His providence in history.

d) The Truth of God

The community frequently refers to itself as the "sons of truth" (סבאן 'בב)², or the "men of truth" (סבאן 'בבבב)³. In view of the covenantal conception of the word "truth"⁴, it is possible to interpret these expressions as referring to the members of the community who "stand in God's truth", who are privileged to share in His elective love and covenant purpose. They are the "company of truth" (סבאן שבא)⁵ who rejoice in salvation and exalt God because of His succour and peace. Undoubtedly, the expression סבאן שבא

1: CD V:12; cf. p.333;

2: 1QS IV:5-6; 1QH VII:30; IX:35; XI:11;

3: 1QpH VII:10;

4: Cf. pp.324-330;

5: 1QM XIII:12,13;

his life and is enabled to rely upon Him in hope and faith:

"And (I), according to my knowledge (will meditate) on Thy truth (or: "according to my knowledge of Thy truth")...And because I contemplate Thy glory I will recount Thy marvels, and because I have understood a(l)l things I will hope in the grea)tness of Thy mercy and in Thy forgiveness I will place my hope"¹.

"Thou hast given an abundant portion of the knowledge of Thy truth and he shall be (gl)o-rified according to his knowledge...My heart has rejoiced in Thy covenant and Thy truth fills my soul with delights"².

"The men of truth" are the members of the community who willingly submit themselves to God's "truth" in "service" and who remain faithful to it until the end of time:

"This concerns the men of truth who observe the law, whose hands do not slacken in the service of truth when the final time delays for them; for all the seasons of God come to pass at their appointed time..."³.

The purpose of this passage is to encourage the community to remain faithful to the end and to await patiently the unfolding of God's plan in history. The "men of truth" are not just men who obey the "law" in all its ramifications. Rather, they are "men of faithfulness" ($\text{נִשְׁמָרִים וְשֹׁמְרֵי}$) in relation to a God who Himself is faithful (נִשְׁמָרֵנוּ)⁴. "The men of truth" are those who acknowledge and accept the "truth of God", His purposeful and covenantal activity

1: 1QH X:20-22a;

2: 1QH X:28b-29; 30b-31a;

3: 1QpH VII:10b-14a;

4: 1QH XV:25;

in history¹.

The highly spiritual implications of the concept of covenant response, described above, comes to the foreground in 1QS VII:18-19a, where there is a reference to a man who is alienated from the membership of the community for

"Betraying the truth (תאבב תאבב) and.. walking in the stubbornness of his heart".

In the same context, 1QS VII:23b-24a, a similar individual is mentioned,

"Whose spirit turns back to the point of betraying the community (תאבב תאבב) and who goes out from before the many to walk in the stubbornness of his heart".

In each case, the verb תאבב "to betray" has been linked to man's "stubbornness of heart" (בב תאבב תאבב)². The betrayal of "truth", or the betrayal of the "community", is looked upon as being essentially a spiritual offense. This is confirmed by the references to "spirit" in the above-quoted passages: it is man's "spirit" which turns back "to the point of betraying" (1QS VII:23b). This is further accentuated by the use of the verb תאבב and its derivatives in another context:

"Those who betrayed (תאבב) the new covenant...they did not believe the covenant of God"³.

"Those who will betray (תאבב) at the end of days...who will not believe."⁴

1: Cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p. 102;

2: Cf. 1QH IV:14-15;

3: 1QpH II:3b-4a;

4: 1QpH II:5b-6a;

Hence, the "men of truth" are the concrete manifestation of God's true covenant people who live in faithful expectation of and in obedient response to His "truth", His purposeful and redemptive activity¹.

The conception of covenant obedience as a response of faith in divine mercy and providence is not peculiar to or distinctive of the Qumran texts. Rather, this conception is part of the common heritage of late Judaism in which it originated and out of which it arose. In 4 Ezra 5:29, the faithful of the covenant are called those

"who have believed in (God's) covenants"

while the unfaithful are qualified as those

"who have denied (the) promises".

Believing in the divine promises of redemption is an essential act of covenant response. In a similar fashion, The Apocalypse of Baruch speaks of the faithful who are destined to inherit the "promise", who have acquired "wisdom" and "understanding", and who continue to live by faith in God's "mercy" and the "truth" of His "law":

1: In the Old Testament, the verb נִשְׁבַּח is used to refer to acts of apostasy and syncretism. Cf. Jer.3:7,10; 12:1; Is.24:16; Zeph.3:4. In the Qumran texts, it has been applied almost exclusively to the backsliders of the community. Cf. CD XIX:33-34; 1QpH VIII:10; 1QS VII:18, 23; Their offenses are primarily of a spiritual nature, however. cf. H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.167: "Die Erlösung aus dem vergänglichen und der Sünde verhafteten Fleische in die ewige Herrlichkeit Gottes, einschliesslich allem das damit zusammenhängt, ist der Inhalt des Wahrheits Gottes für den Menschen, die es zu erkennen gibt. Man muss der Wahrheit glauben, ihr gehorchen und sie tun". Ibid, p.102: "Die Hauptsache bleibt das gläubige Leben in der Erwartung des Endes, nicht ein formuliertes Glaubensdogma".

"For these are they who shall inherit that time which hath been spoken of. And theirs is the inheritance of the promised time. These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom and with them are found stores of understanding. And from mercy they have not withdrawn and the truth of the law they have preserved"¹.

The word "truth" (אֱמֶת) is inseparably bound up with the community's concept of covenant². It is the informing and controlling norm by which the covenant is understood to exist and to survive. On the one hand, it represents the reality of God's providential and redemptive initiative within the covenant. On the other, it represents man's response in faith to this initiative. Both these aspects, God's "truth" and man's response to this "truth", are essential if the covenant is to survive.

e) The Will of God

i) Revelation and Faith

We have seen that the expression "will of God" is also closely identified with the concept of salvation history³. The "will of God" is the activity of God which predestines and controls historical events and focusses itself in redemption and salvation upon the elect.

Quite frequently, the community member is called upon to "do His will"⁴, or to "walk according to His will", as an act of covenant

1: Syr. Baruch 44:13-14; R.H. Charles, The Apocalypse of Baruch, London, 1917;

2: Cf. 1QS V:5-6a; VIII:9b-10a; H. Braun, Op.cit., Vol. I, p.25, (n.2).

3: Cf. pp.330-332;

4: 1QS IX:23; 1Q28b, III:24;

allegiance:

"The sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and who seek His will"¹.

"The sons of Zadok, the priests whom God has chosen to establish His covenant... (who) walked according to His will"².

In the light of the emphatic covenantal connotation of the expression "will of God", this act of covenant response could be understood as a disposition of spirit in relation to God's electing and predestining "will". This would mean also that the covenant faithfulness required of the community member does not rest on a precise observance of clearly formulated legal principles, but on an allegiance of spirit which believes in divine providence and in the ultimate glory of the elect in this providence. The plausibility of such an interpretation for the phrase "to walk according to His will" is suggested by the notion of "law" which is implicit in the word "will". The meaning of "will" (וָיָלַךְ) is not focussed upon any one particular prescription. The use of an expression such as "to do וַיַּעַשׂ", in an absolute sense, certainly indicates the deeper theological implications involved³. In other contexts, the word "will" has become diffused as a concept of "law" in the purely technical sense, and has become understood, in a very general sense, as the "precepts of God", the "truth of God", the "will of God" or "His ways of truth". What is basically at stake is the requirement to serve "God" rather

1: 1QS V:9;
2: 1QSB III:23-24;
3: 1QS IX:23;

than any one particular law:

"To instruct them according to His command who have founded (His covenant) in truth and heeded in righteousness all His precepts and walked according to His will"¹.

"The majority of the members of their covenant they who volunteer together for His truth and to walk in His will"².

"God established His covenant...revealing to them...His ways of truth and the desires of His will"³.

"To bless those who fear (God and do) His will who observe His commandments and cling firmly to His holy covenant and walk perfectly (in all) His (ways of tru)th"⁴.

"He shall cling to the elect of the time in accordance with the decision of His will, according to His command"⁵.

To "do the will of God" is understood in a wide and categorical sense as "fearing God", or "clinging to His holy covenant". In the light of this greatly diffused notion of "law", it is interesting to observe some of the allegations which are directed against the opponents. They are called "the first members of the covenant" and the accusation is that they forsook the "covenant of God" and chose "their own desire" rather than that of God⁶. But he who does the "will of God" desires nothing beyond that "will" and waits in faith for its culmination in the end of time:

1: 1QSb III:23b-24;
2: 1QS V:10;
3: CD III:14-15;
4: 1QSb I:1b-2;
5: 1QS IX:14b-15a;
6: CD III:10-12a;

"He shall do the will of God in every enterprise of his hands, that He may reign over all things according to His command; and he shall gladly delight in all that He has made, and beyond the will of God he shall desire nothing. And he shall delight (in all) the words of His mouth, and shall covet nothing of that which He has not commanded. And he shall constantly watch for the judgment of God (And in all that be)falls, he shall bless Him who did it..." 1.

Here, the doing of the "will of God" is to observe "His command" and "the words of His mouth". No specific act of legal observance is implied, however. To "do the will of God" is understood in a wide and comprehensive sense to include "every enterprise" of one's hands. Man's entire life of work and devotion is placed on the altar before God. This allegiance to God is dominated by an act of submission which allows God to take control ("that He may reign) and a fundamental disposition of faith which waits in expectation for the dawning of the age of fulfillment.

It is significant that this allegiance of the community to the "will of God" is understood to be essentially an act of response to a revelation. God has established an eternal covenant by revealing to the community "the hidden things" (CD III:13-14). The latter may refer to the specific rules which regulate the systematic observance of the sabbath and other festivals (line 14), but also, in a more comprehensive sense, to "His ways of truth" and the "desires of His will" (line 15). In another context, the community is called upon to

1: 1QS IX:23b-25;

"to do the will of God according to all that has been revealed"¹.

A similar relationship between obedience and revelation has been pointed out in connection with the use of the expressions "new covenant" and "covenant of God" in 1QpH II. There, the unfaithful are accused of not believing in the "covenant of God" (line 4a) and of not believing in "all the things which will befall the last generation" which are mediated to them by "the priest" (lines 6b-8a). "The priest" is the "teacher of righteousness" to whom God has told "all that will befall His people" (line 9b-10a) and who has been appointed to convey this revelation concerning "the last generation" to the community (CD I:11-12). Covenant allegiance is thus essentially a disposition of faith in a revelation concerning God's eschatological purpose. The members of the community are the בְּנֵי רִצְוֹן, the "sons of God's will" not only by virtue of their privileged destiny, but also by virtue of their response to and faith in this destiny.

5. Covenant Faith and the Patriarchal Covenant

We have seen that the crisis of the covenant, which confronted the community after its initial secession from Jerusalem,² grew out of a profound awareness of the failures of the Sinai covenant. The merits and validity of the old covenant had come under review³. The

1: 1QS IX:13a;

2: Cf. Chapter II, pp.28-31;

3: Cf. Chapter IV, pp.73-75;

desert generation and succeeding ones had utterly failed in meeting the demands of the covenant and were, therefore, no longer worthy of emulation.

For the Qumran community, it was the patriarchal covenant which became the supreme ideal and prototype of its own covenant relationship with God. This ancient covenant represented the origin of its election and promise through the initiative of divine grace, as well as the demand for its own total surrender and allegiance. This element of pledge and response in relation to the patriarchal covenant is evident in 1QS II:9, where the community members are called those

"Who cling (to (the covenant) of the fathers".

Particularly interesting is 1Q34bis, II:5b-8, where it is said that God has "renewed" the covenant of the community by virtue of His commitment to the patriarchal covenant¹. This "renewal", however, brought about by the sole initiative of God, contains an essential element of responsibility. It is a covenant which is founded

"on the vision of glory and the words
of Thy holy spirit...and the writing of
Thy right hand causing them to know the
glorious teachings".

In a curious fashion, the giving of the law in the Sinai covenant, the "words", the "writing" and the "teachings"², has become absorbed

1: Cf. Chapter VII, p.135;

2: Cf. Chapter VII, p.137;

into the patriarchal covenant. Divine grace and human response are maintained in a relationship of harmonious balance.

The elevation of the patriarchal covenant as the supreme covenant of election and response is closely associated with a veneration of the patriarchal figures:

"On the day on which a man undertakes to be converted to the law of Moses, the angel of hostility will depart from him if he fulfils his words. For this reason Abraham circumcised himself on the day that he knew"(or: "acquired knowledge")¹.

The writer has drawn a curious parallel between man's response to God's "words" and the departure of the "angel of hostility", on the one hand, and Abraham's circumcision and acquisition of "knowledge", on the other hand.

Abraham's "knowledge" is the "knowledge of the necessity of circumcision as a covenant prescription"². Circumcision is the perpetual and visible reminder of man's allegiance to God, the symbol of his dependence on the covenant promise and his faith in this promise. Abraham's fulfillment of the law of circumcision is thus expressive of his faith-relationship to God. This idea of reliance upon God comes also to the foreground in CD III:2-3a:

"Abraham did not walk in this and was raised to be a friend of God because he kept the commandments of God and did not choose the will of his own spirit".

1: CD XVI:4b-6a;

2: Cf. R.F.Collins, Op.cit., ETL 39, (1963), p.557f;

Abraham's friendship with God is founded on his obedience to the "commandments". This obedience is essentially an expression of surrender to God: he "did not choose the will of his own spirit".

This faith, Abraham handed down to Isaac and Jacob:

"He handed it down to Isaac and to Jacob and they kept it and were written down as friends of God and His covenanters for eternity (בְּרִית בְּרִית לְעוֹלָם)¹".

The patriarchs pursued the commandments of God, did not follow the desires of their own wills and became God's covenanters for eternity. It is this covenant faith of the patriarchs which the community set out to emulate. Its members return to the law (CD XVI:4b-5a) for it is here that "all things are carefully taught" (CD XVI:2). They pledge to "cling to His truth" (1QS I:11), to "do His will" (1QS V:9), and not to transgress a single of "His words" (1QS I:14) or "His precepts" (1QS I:15). This act of obedience to the law has a liberating effect: the "angel of hostility" will depart from them (CD XVI:5). The latter is the power of evil which leads man astray and makes complete reliance upon God impossible². The departure of the "angel of hostility" signifies the inauguration of God's supreme sovereignty over man's heart and of man's complete reliance upon this sovereignty³. The community does the "will of God" in order that God "may reign over all things" and that "beyond the will of God (it) shall desire nothing"⁴.

1: CD III:3a-4a;

2: Cf. Chapter VII, p.138, (n.4);

3: Cf. Jubilees 15:31-32;

4: 1QS IX:23b-24;

The patriarchs obeyed God in faith and were set apart to share in God's covenant for eternity (CD III:3a-4a). So too, the members of the community, by virtue of their allegiance to God, become partakers of an everlasting covenant¹. God will uphold them unto the covenant², their hearts will rejoice in His covenant³ and through His covenant love they will go strengthened for ever⁴. To obey God's "will" is to be delivered from the "angel of hostility", to place one's complete faith in the realities of God's providence and in the divine destiny of His elect. The community seceded from its Judaic contemporaries to live by that faith.

6. Summary

The foregoing independent studies in the meaning of the concept of covenant law may now be consolidated and summarized as follows:

(a) The meaning of "law" falls beyond the limits of carefully stated stipulations or precisely defined legal codes. This wider scope of meaning is accentuated by the use of synonyms which are used interchangeably to express and apply to the concept of "law". Instead of representing concrete laws or bodies of laws, these synonyms speak of

1: 1QS III:11-12; Cf. Chapter VIII;

2: 1QH VII:20;

3: 1QH X:30;

4: 1QH IV:36;

"law" in a categorical and comprehensive sense, as the "will of God", the "word of God", the "way of God", the "truth of God", etc.

(b) The Qumran conception of "law" is closely associated with and greatly influenced by the concept of salvation history. The "law of God" is the irrevocable movement of divine purpose which ordains and predestines, elects and rejects in and through historical events and culminates in salvation or damnation in the fulfillment of time.

(c) "Knowledge" of this divine "law" or covenant purpose is acquired through the medium of the revelation of "mysteries". The community learns the outcome of the last events which will take place in the eschatological drama and of its own glorious destiny in this drama.

(d) Covenant obedience is a response to and acceptance of this revealed "law" or covenant purpose. This allegiance is essentially an act of "faith", a disposition of spirit which believes in the providence of God and in the glorious destiny of His elect.

(e) Finally, we have seen how the conception of "faith" as an act of covenant allegiance is closely linked to, and possibly originated in, an idealistic view of the patriarchal covenant. The merits of the Sinai covenant came under review. The patriarchal covenant came to represent the supreme example of the perfect covenant relationship, in which the elements of divine election and human response were kept in perfect balance. This pattern of the ancient "covenant

of the forefathers", the community of the "new covenant" set out to emulate: just as the patriarchs obeyed God in faith and became His eternal covenanters, so too the community turns to the word of scripture, responds in faith to its revelation and becomes the inheritor of an "everlasting covenant".

EPILOGUE

In conclusion, we shall consolidate the results of our study and attempt to assess their relevance in the light of our knowledge of Judaism and the New Testament.

Our study has shown the presence of two distinctive covenant themes: the priestly and the apocalyptic.

The priestly concept of covenant is marked by a concern to legitimize the prerogatives of the cult and priesthood and understood election to fulfill an essential role in this process of legitimization. The entire sphere of the priestly office within the cult hinges on election. This same function of election has been extended to apply to the eschatological cult in which the priest will perform and carry out his office under the direction of the High Priest, the supreme cultic dignitary. (Chapter V).

The priestly concept of covenant is also marked by a highly legalistic understanding of the law. In a strict and limited sense, the law which claims man's allegiance is the "law of Moses". Covenant response, in this legalistic context, involves no more than the formal observance and enactment of the legal stipulations of the Pentateuch. (Chapter XIII, pp.311-313).

The apocalyptic theme of covenant differs in a radical sense from the narrow and legalistic type described above. The distinguishing hallmark of this conception is its close proximity to the

notion of salvation history. It is concerned primarily with the wider context of history as the arena of God's unfolding purpose, the destiny of the elect within that purpose and their reliance upon it in faith.

Our study has shown that in many cases election has been understood in terms of the past and the present: it is the concrete manifestation of God's intention to continue His covenant activity in the present (Chapter VI, pp.111-113), by virtue of His previous commitments to the patriarchs (Chapter VI, p.111; Chapter VII, pp.126-134). In the majority of cases, however, the community's awareness of election has been projected into the future to become the basis for its eschatological expectations: its destiny of salvation and redemption. This correlation between election and redemption came to the foreground in our study of the root $\sqrt{3}$. (Chapter VI, pp.113-116; Chapter VII, pp.146-147).

There is an inseparable correlation and identification between this concept of election as redemption and covenant. This came to the foreground in our study of the "everlasting covenant" (Chapter VIII), where the idea of covenant has become completely linked to the theme of God's activity in redemptive-eschatological events. This redemption has an active quality. The community is not only the passive recipient of the patriarchal covenant promise, but also the active participant through which that promise reaches its fulfillment in an "everlasting covenant". (Chapter VIII, pp.172-178). Our study of the "covenant of peace" (Chapter IX) has shown that the notions of

covenant and election have been extended still further beyond participation in eschatological events to include the religious witness of the covenant community, serving God in "truth" and "righteousness", sustained and upheld by His presence in the company of the angels.

The close affinity which exists in apocalyptic thought between election, redemption and covenant, and the distinct emphasis on the active function of the elect in these eschatological events, is directly related to the apocalyptic conception of covenant obedience. Covenant response is fundamentally an act of human reliance upon the redemptive purpose of God in history. It is the unconditional surrender of the elect to God, assured by faith of their destiny of redemption. (Chapter XIV).

Hence, the apocalyptic conception of covenant turns about the themes of election, providence and redemption. The covenant arises out of the initiative of God in election, is projected into the future as an expectation of redemption and claims man's full surrender to the providence of God.

The significant and relevant fact which arises from this brief synopsis is that two such distinctive conceptions of covenant originated in the religious thought of one and the same community. We have preferred to speak of priestly and apocalyptic covenant "themes" rather than "traditions", for there is no evidence to suggest that these ideas of covenant are the product of distinguishable priestly and apocalyptic groups or "traditions" within the community. What we have at Qumran is a predominantly priestly society with definite apocalyptic

tendencies, a "priestly apocalypticism". (Cf. F.M.Cross, Op.cit., p.56). Such a fusion of priestly and apocalyptic tendencies is evident in the vision of the future "temple-state", which will be the new theocracy centered around the sanctuary on Mount Zion under the direction of a lay messiah and high priest, who perform their respective functions in or near the sanctuary in harmony and co-operation. (Chapter X, pp.225-226). It is particularly interesting to see this expectation in the light of the New Testament:

"The hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father..But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers (or: "worshippers of truth") will worship the Father in spirit and truth" (John 4:21,23).

This quotation is indicative of several significant points of departure, as well as of contact, between the faith of Qumran and that of early Christianity.

The distinct priestly view of a new temple located on Mount Zion has dissipated. Under the new dispensation, inaugurated by Christ, man is required to worship God free from the trappings of a physical cult or sacrificial structure. Such a view would ~~still~~ have been impossible for the predominantly priestly society of Qumran, still so near in time to its association with the Jerusalem cult.

The significant point of contact is in the type of allegiance required in the new church: "in spirit and truth" (vs.23). A similar view is found in John 3:5 :

"Unless one is born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God".

This is curiously reminiscent of 1QS IV:21 :

"He will cause the spirit of truth to gush forth upon him like lustral water".

The requirement to worship "in truth" (John 4:23), or "to do truth", (John 3:21) is again reminiscent of similar demands in the Qumran texts (Chapter XIV, pp.345-350). There, "to do truth" is understood as a disposition of man's faith in his own destiny of redemption within the covenant purpose of God (p.346). In the New Testament this redemptive event has been achieved through the self-giving love of God in Christ. "To do truth", in this New Testament context, is essentially an act of faith in or surrender to this redemptive event (John 3:18-21). The object of man's faith, still unfulfilled in the Qumran texts, has been fully accomplished in Christ. Nevertheless, the essential spiritual nature of man's allegiance required remains the same: justificatio sola fide.

The people of Qumran sought for confirmation of their faith in prophetic scripture (Chapter XII, pp.261-264). The presence of an extensive collection of "pescharim", or biblical commentaries, points to this fact (Chapter XIII, pp.298-299). The pattern of interpretation adopted by the sectarians in the composition of these "pescharim" is remarkably similar to the exegetical forms used by the gospel writers¹.

The comparison can be extended still further. The Qumran people turned to the prophetic scriptures with the specific purpose of acqui-

1: Cf. K.Stendahl, The School of Matthew, Uppsala, 1954, pp.181-202; F.M. Cross, *Op.cit.*, p.163, (n.39).

ring insight into the "mysteries of God". Through the words of the prophets, the full meaning of which has escaped past generations, and by means of a divinely appointed mediator (Chapter XII, pp.272-273), the community learns the outcome of the events of the coming drama of redemption and of its own glorious destiny in this drama (Chapter XIV, p.359). Covenant response, in this apocalyptic context, is an act of faith in this redemptive message revealed through the prophets.

In Pauline thought the "mystery" is the "mystery of God" (1 Cor. 2:1), the "mystery of the gospel" (Eph.6:19), containing the "truth of the gospel" (2 Cor. 11:10), which is the "truth of Christ" (Gal.2:5). The "mystery" embodies the good news of "salvation" (Rom.11:25-27) which, according to an "eternal purpose", God has accomplished in Christ (Eph.1:9-10a; 3:3,4,9,11). This revelation of the "mystery" of God's redemptive love in Christ demands man's allegiance in "faith" (Eph.3:12). The members of the young church are called upon to be,

"Servants of Christ and stewards of the
mysteries of God" (1 Cor.4:1)¹.

As was the case in the Qumran texts, Paul sees the "mystery" which claims man's obedience to be rooted in the prophetic word of scripture:

"The revelation of the mystery which was kept secret for long ages but is now disclosed and through the prophetic writing is made known...to bring about obedience to the faith" (Romans 16:25-26).

The importance of the Old Testament prophets in the theology of the New

1: Cf. Romans 16:26; Col.1:26-27;

Testament in general is beyond question (Cf. Acts 13:27; 15:15). The prophetic word is the medium of the revelation of God's redemptive purpose and the source of authority for the confirmation of faith (Romans 3:21-22; 1 Peter 1:10-12). Again, it should be emphasized that, whereas for the people of Qumran the redemptive event upon which faith is focussed is still the object of hope and expectation, for the New Testament church this event has been accomplished in Christ.

At this point, it is well to recall that the principal point of contention between the Qumran community and its opponents centered around the interpretation of Moses and the prophets (Chapter I). With reference to the law of Moses, the debate arose over questions of a purely legal and cultic nature (Chapter I, pp.4-7; Chapter XIII, p.302). But with reference to the prophets, the conflict turned about the interpretation of the "mysteries of God", the redemptive purpose of God revealed through the scriptures. The opponents are accused of having scorned the revelation of God's redemptive intentions: His "truth" etc. (Chapter XIV, pp.332-358).

The situation of the Essene community of Qumran is relevant and comparable to that of the New Testament church. The opponents of the church are similarly accused of having rejected the fulfilled purpose of God in Christ, revealed and confirmed through the prophets:

"For those who live in Jerusalem and their rulers, because they did not recognize him nor understand the utterances of the prophets which are read every sabbath" (Acts 13:27).

Other passages point in the same direction:

"And he expounded the matter to them from morning till evening, testifying to the kingdom of God and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the law of Moses and from the prophets. And some were convinced by what he said, while others disbelieved".
(Acts 28:23-24)¹

The heresy of the church in the eyes of its Judaic contemporaries consisted not only in the affirmation of its faith in Christ, but also in the claim to the authority of the revealed word of scripture in support of that faith. These sectarian tendencies of the early church come to the foreground in Acts 24:14:

"I admit to you, that according to the Way, which they call a sect, I worship the God of our fathers, believing everything laid down by the law or written in the prophets".

The early church, like the Essenes, distinguished itself as a sect from the main body of contemporary Judaism by its claim to be the true recipient of a divinely inspired revelation of the Old Testament prophets.

"The revelation of the mystery which was kept secret for long ages but is now disclosed and through the prophetic writing is made known" (Rom. 16:25):²

The discovery of certain sectarian-"heretical" traits in the theology of the early Christian church with regard to the questions of "faith" and "revelation" can be extended to apply to the doctrine of election.

1: Cf. Acts 17:2-10

2: This is also evident in the use of the word "knowledge" as esoteric "knowledge" which belongs to and must be safeguarded by the community of the saved. Cf. Matt. 11:25-30; John 10:14-15; 1 John 4:7f; Compare John 17:3 and 1QS II:2-3; cf. F.M. Cross, Op.cit., p.154.

In our study of the Qumran texts, we have seen that election is understood as the manifestation of the redeeming power of God which He bestows upon His chosen people by virtue of His previous promises to the patriarchs (Chapter VII, pp.126-134). This, it was suggested, was expressive of a general and prevailing trend in the Judaism of the time: to identify the prerogatives, the promises and gifts of grace, of the patriarchal covenant with the claims of a particular sectarian movement. No longer "Israel", but a righteous remnant within "Israel", became the rightful recipient of the patriarchal covenant promise (Chapter VII, pp.128-132; p.146).

According to the prevailing trend of its time, the New Testament church also laid claim upon the promises of the patriarchal covenant and understood these to have been fulfilled in Christ (Luke 1:55,68-73; Acts 7:17; Romans 15:8). That such a sectarian claim was particularly repugnant to the main body of Judaism is evident in Paul's words of defense in Acts 26:6 :

"And now I stand here on trial for hope in the promise made by God to our fathers"¹.

The primitive church, like the Qumran Essenes, distinguished itself as a sect from the main body of Judaism by its consciousness of being the elect congregation and the inheritor of the promise in Christ by virtue of the patriarchal covenant.

In the Qumran texts, the concepts of election and promise, when

1: Cf. Acts 24:14-15; Romans 4:13;

linked to the patriarchal covenant, are never completely divorced from the idea of merit. God's redemptive love can become effective only in a community which has been spiritually prepared in a climate of faithful response (Chapter VII, pp.146-147). The inheritance of the promise remains provisional. This conditional element of the patriarchal covenant owes its existence to the community's profound admiration for the spiritual integrity of the patriarchal figures. The "forefathers" submitted themselves to God and stood therefore in a faith-relationship to Him (Chapter XIV, pp.354-358). It is only by virtue of their faith in God that they became "friends of God" and were set apart to share in His covenant for ever (CD III:3b-4a).

This elevation of the concepts of election and response in the patriarchal covenant goes hand in hand with a tendency to minimise and reduce the importance of the Sinai covenant. The merits and validity of this covenant have become suspect (Chapter IV, pp.73-75). The patriarchal covenant has been raised as the supreme covenant of election and response, of promise and faith. The community of Qumran separated itself from its Judaic contemporaries to live by the promise and faith of that covenant.

The tradition of the "friendship" of the patriarchs by virtue of their faith in God is ^{echoed} ~~reverberated~~ in James 2:23 :

"Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness; and he was called the friend of God".

The theme of the "faith" and "righteousness" of Abraham seems to have occupied an important place in the theology of Paul (Romans 4:3; Gal.

3:6-7), as well as elsewhere in the New Testament (Hebrews 11:8,17). By virtue of his "faith", Abraham became the "father" of "all who believe" (Romans 4:11-12). This "faith" the church is called upon to emulate. By virtue of their "faith" men become the "sons of Abraham", "Abraham's offspring" (Gal.3:7), united to the patriarch, no longer by a blood bond, but by the bond of a spiritual kinship of "faith". Upon the spiritually prepared church, "those who share the faith of Abraham" (Romans 3:16), God bestows His gift of "grace" and redemption in Christ (Romans 3:22-25). The members of the church, by virtue of their kinship with Abraham, become "heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:29), the rightful recipients of the blessings of the patriarchal covenant:

"Those who are men of faith are blessed
with Abraham who had faith" (Gal.3:9).

As in the Qumran texts, we have here a decisive attempt to restore the essential elements of election and response, of promise and faith, in relation to the patriarchal covenant.

The esteem with which the New Testament regards the patriarchs and their covenant is accompanied by a less favourable conception of the merits of the Mosaic covenant. The church was anxious to emphasize the relationship between the patriarchal and Mosaic events as one of promise and fulfillment (Acts 7:17,32), to stress the ineffectiveness of the witness of the Sinai generation (Acts 7:39; Romans 5:14) and, indeed, to question the whole validity of the Sinai covenant law as sufficient to meet the demands of God and justify the right of the inheritance of the promise (Romans 4:14-15).

There are several indications that the opposition of the primitive church to the legal traditions of the Mosaic dispensation brought it into serious conflict with the major parties in Judaism (Acts 6:11,14; 21:21). It was a conflict which turned about the distinction between justification by legal works and justification by faith (Acts 15:5,9; Romans 2:28-29; 3:21-22).

This brief and somewhat cursory comparison of the results of our study with our existing knowledge of the New Testament has enabled us to suggest several significant points of contact between the spiritual climates of the Qumran community and of the primitive church.

(a) Justification by Faith. Man is required to worship in "faith". This is an act of reliance upon God's redemptive intentions, revealed through His "mysteries" and rooted in the prophetic word of the Old Testament.

(b) The Patriarchal Covenant. The patriarchal covenant has been elevated as the supreme covenant of promise and faith. This process went hand in hand with a tendency to reduce the importance of the Sinai covenant and its law.

What we have in New Testament thought is a curious ^{echo} ~~reverberation~~ of the peculiar apocalyptic flavour of the Qumran texts. It has its roots in an apocalyptic notion of covenant which turns about the themes of redemption and faith and which sees these elements perfectly expressed in the patriarchal covenant.

Our study has also indicated the peculiar sectarian and "heretical"

nature of apocalyptic theology in relation to official Judaism. At several points, there were indications of conflict which centered around questions of revelation, election and covenant law. This points ^{to} ~~at~~ the possibility that the apocalyptic movement, which exerted such a profound influence upon the Christian church, was mainly concentrated in and owed its strong spiritual characteristics to secessionist groups similar to that of the Essene community of Qumran.

We have noted the presence of a dual conception of covenant in the Qumran texts: a priestly-legalistic and an apocalyptic-theological. In the light of this, there are two alternative solutions which may be suggested regarding the spiritual origins of the New Testament church:

(a) The apocalyptic theology of the New Testament has its roots more directly embedded in the prophetic traditions of the Old Testament, while that of Qumran in the priestly traditions.

(b) The New Testament church represents a stage of development which has progressed spiritually and doctrinally beyond that of Qumran. The Essene community represents an important movement in a line of development which extended from the legalistic piety of its past to the spirituality of the New Testament church.

The problem above will require the attention of more serious investigation. Irrespective of its solution, one indisputable fact comes to the foreground: God was preparing the way for the culmination of His covenant purpose in a supreme redemptive event. The soil was

being cultivated for the planting of the church, the stage being set for the coming of its Master, the pattern being woven for the thought it would one day assume as its own.

APPENDIX

THE EXILE-COVENANT

The evidence which arises from the texts appears to indicate that the Qumran community understood its sojourn at Qumran to be only a temporary exile from its rightful and deserved place in the temple of Jerusalem. In CD VI:5, the community refers to itself as

"The סגרו $\text{בש$ who went out (ד'ס'ר)
from the land of Judah and were exiled (גלו)
in the land of Damascus"¹.

The form בש is most commonly conjoined with פשו to serve as an appellation for the community: "the repentant ones", or "the converts"².

In three isolated instances, however, it is used in conjunction with סגרו and the verb form ד'ס'ר ³. The latter occurs in the Old Testament to refer to the "going out" to the "North Country" (צפון),

1: Note also the variations of this phrase in CD IV:2; VIII:17.

2: בש occurs frequently as an expression of repentance, a "return" to covenant allegiance. The covenant is essentially a "covenant of return" (CD XIX:16) and its participants are required to "turn from all evil" (1QS V:1,14,22; VI:15; X:20) and to swear by oath to "be converted to", or to "return to the law of Moses" (1QS V:5; CD XV:8-10; XVI:1), to the "covenant" (1QS V:22) and to the "truth" (1QS VI:15). Particularly in CD it occurs in the absolute form to refer to the community: "the converts from impiety" (פשו בש : CD II:5; XX:17), "the converts from the corrupt way" (בש ד'ס'ר : CD XV:7). It expresses thus the whole process of repentance, involving the rejection of wickedness and the return to covenant allegiance. Cf. H.Braun, Op.cit., ZTK 50, (1953), pp.243-258.

3: CD IV:2; VI:5; VIII:17.

the land of the exiles¹. Curiously, in CD VII:13-15, the community is said to have "escaped to the land of the north". It is not altogether impossible that the writer of CD was familiar with a similar "North Country"-exile identification². In this light, the form can be read as a derivative from the root נָצַח , "to exile". CD VI:5 can then be rendered: "The exiles of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and were exiled in the land of Damascus"³.

The plausibility of the interpretation suggested above is emphasized by the reference to the "land of Damascus". In CD VII:15, the expositor again alludes to the same locale:

"And I have exiled (נָצַח) the Sikkuth of your king...to Damascus".

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- 1: The form נָצַח is the qal participle of the root נָצַח . It occurs in Zech 6:8 in the same form as here in CD: "Behold those who go toward the North Country have set my spirit at rest in the North Country" (נָצַח נָצַח נָצַח נָצַח). In Zech.2:10, the "North Country" is not a precise geographical location but is synonymous with "the four winds of heaven". In Zech.6:10, however, it is clearly parallel to "Babylon" from which "the exiles", Heldai, Tobijah and Judai came.
 - 2: Taking into consideration the symbolic use of "Lebanon", "Ephraim" and "Judah" in the Qumran texts, as well as the equation "North Country"=exile in Zechariah, it is quite obvious that the writer of CD VI:5 used the expressions נָצַח and פָּשַׁע to convey the idea that the migration to Qumran was, in fact, an exile. Cf. A.S.v.d. Woude, Messianischen Vorstellungen, p.47.
 - 3: There are many Old Testament examples where the form נָצַח is used with reference to an exile or captivity. Cf. Ezra 2:1; 3:8; 8:35; Neh.1:2,3; 7:6; Jer.22:22; 30:10,16; Ez.12:11; 30:17,18; Hab.1:9. Among those who translate it as נָצַח , "converts", are: C.Rabin, Zadokite Documents, p.13,(n.2³); E.F.Sutcliffe, Op.cit., p.82; H.Braun, Op.cit., Vol.I, p.100,(n.4); J.Maier, Op.cit., Vol.II, p.46; H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.32. The translation "exiles" was first suggested by I.Rabinowitz, Op.cit., JBL 73, (1954), pp.11-35. It is now also supported by A.S.v.d.Woude, Messianischen Vorstellungen, p.11,(n.8). It is also significant that the reference to an escape to the "North Country" in CD VII:15 is followed by a quotation from Amos 5:26f: "And I have exiled (נָצַח) the Sikkuth of your king".

The citation is based on Amos 5:26-27. It is significant, however, that the expositor of CD has replaced the word D N X W J of vs.26 with the more forceful D N S A T of vs.27a of the MT. This is once again indicative of the community's concern with the theme of the exile.

The locale of the exile is "Damascus"¹. Any attempt to interpret this in a strict geographical sense is to be treated with caution². In the light of the symbolic use of expressions such as "Ephraim" and "Lebanon" to refer to the community, it is not unlikely that "Damascus" is similarly used symbolically to refer to Qumran as

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- 1: It is interesting to note the use of Amos 5:26-27a in Acts 7:23, where the word "Damascus" has been replaced by "Babylon". Thus also in New Testament times there is a clear example of the symbolic interpretation "Damascus"=exile. On the various traditions surrounding the use of "Damascus", cf. G.Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, p.43f .
 - 2: Some scholars have indeed suggested a real migration to the Syrian capital. Cf. M.H.Segal, "The Habakkuk Commentary and the Damascus fragments", JBL 70, (1951), pp.131-147; J.T.Milik, Op.cit., pp.90-92; H.Kosmala, Op.cit., p.401. Scholars who support this view have been unable to agree regarding the date of this migration. If it affected the entire community, it must have taken place prior to the occupation of the Qumran site, for fragments of CD have been found there. Cf. R.de Vaux, L'Archéologie et les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte, London, 1961, p.87. Others suggest the reign of Herod for the period of the migration when, according to archeological evidence, the site of Qumran appears to have been actually vacated. Cf. C.T.Fritsch, "Herod the Great and the Qumran Community", JBL 74, (1955), pp.173-181. This view appears now invalid in the light of the date of the new CD fragments which "cannot be dated later than the Hasmonean period and is almost certainly pre-Roman". Cf. F.M.Cross, Op.cit., pp.59-60. There is also no indication that such a migration would have been necessary during the reign of Herod. Josephus suggests the contrary. Cf. Flavius Josephus, Antiquities, Book XV, Chapter x, Par.4,5; edited by W.Whiston, The Works of Flavius Josephus, London-Edinburgh. Another possibility is that only a section of the community migrated to the city of Damascus. Cf. J.T.Milik, Op.cit., pp.90-92. If such a group continued to lead a wholly independent existence, this view fails to explain how the CD fragments found their way into the Qumran repository. Scholars have also become increasingly aware of the essential unity which exists between CD and the other texts.

the exilic gathering place of the community members¹.

Having seceded from Jerusalem and its temple, the Qumran community became increasingly aware that what was happening was not without significance. Undoubtedly, their isolation in the desert reminded them of the predicament of the Jews of Babylon in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. "They were, in fact, 'deportees', like the Jews of Babylon". Certainly, the deliberate transposition of Amos 5:26-27a is indicative of the community's concern with the theme of the exile. Again, the equation "North Country"=Babylon in Zech.6:10 and "Damascus"=Babylon in Palestinian traditions may have had a direct bearing on their use in the Qumran texts.

According to Ez.20:33-39, the future hope of the nation lay with the exiled generation in Babylon: Yahweh will bring them out of "the

1: This is actually a compromise solution between the views of I. Rabinowitz and R. North. The former has suggested that the use of "Damascus" in CD is the product of "an interpretation of scriptural prophecy" and refers, in a symbolic sense to the "Assyro-Babylonian captivity". Cf. I. Rabinowitz, *Op.cit.*, JBL 73, (1954), p.33. This position fails to take into account the distinct eschatological tone of the passages which speak of an exile to "Damascus": "at the consummation of time" (CD IV:9,10); "during all the time of wickedness" (CD VI:10). The word *הרין* clearly applies to a period contemporary with that of the community. Cf. CD I:5; V:20; XX:15,23. Cf. H. Braun, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 111; N. Wieder, "The Term *qes* in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Hebrew Liturgical Poetry", JJS 5, (1954), pp.22-31. Hence, the prophecies of an exile to "Damascus" do not refer to a Babylonian exile but to the period of the community. While Rabinowitz identifies "Damascus" with the "locale of the captivity", R. North defines the limits of this locale more precisely as lying in the "North-Western segment of the Dead Sea shore line". Cf. R. North, "The Damascus of Qumran Geography", PEQ 87, (1955), p.45. The majority of scholars today have accepted the "Damascus"-Qumran identification. Cf. A. Jaubert, "Le Pays de Damas", RB 65, (1958), pp.214-218; F.M. Cross, *Op.cit.*, pp.59-60; E.F. Sutcliffe, *Op.cit.*, p.20; A.S.v.d.Woude, *Messianischen Vorstellungen*, p.53f; J. Maier, *Op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.49f; R. de Vaux who tentatively supported the "Damascus"=Syrian capital identification, (Cf. R. de Vaux, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumran; rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne", RB 61, (1954), pp.235-236), has now suggested the alternative solution: "Damascus"=Qumran. Cf. *Archéologie*, (p.87).

land where they sojourn" (vs.38) into the "wilderness of the peoples", the gathering place of the exiles (vs.35). There, He will purify them (vs.38; 36:25-26) and enter with them into a new covenant relationship (vs.39; 36:28). The same correlation between the above expressions exists in the Qumran texts:

(a) The expression "wilderness of the peoples" occurs in 1QM I:3 to refer to Qumran¹ as the gathering place of the "exiles of the desert" (line 2b) before they return to the "desert of Jerusalem" to participate in the final war against perversity (line 3b). According to the community, they are only temporary exiles set apart to become participants in a greater destiny². They shall return from captivity to Jerusalem: "They shall possess the high mountain of Israel and shall enjoy (everlasting) delights in His sanctuary"³.

(b) The idea of the transitory nature of the exile and its eventual outcome of glory is clearly evident in the use of the root נלן , "to sojourn", or "to dwell". The absolute נלן can be rendered "dwelling". In the Old Testament, it frequently denotes "the land of sojourning" promised to Abraham in a solemn covenant ($\text{נלן} \text{נלן} \text{נלן}$)⁴. In several instances, the root נלן applies to living in exile or living in a foreign country as a stranger, the emphasis being on the

1: Cf. J.T.Milik, Op.cit., p.122.

2: Whereas in Ezekiel it is Yahweh who inaugurates a new beginning through His judgment (20:35), in 1QM it is the community which has become the instrument for the enactment of His judgment.

3: 4QpPs37, I:11.

4: Cf. Gen.17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 47:9; Ex.6:4; etc.

transitory and temporary nature of the "sojourn"¹. When the Qumran texts speak of "sojourning in the land of Damascus" () 7) λ ')², the emphasis can similarly be placed on living temporarily in foreign surroundings. The "exiled of Israel" (5 λ 7 7 ' 7 7) are "the priests," the "Levites" and the "Sons of Zadok". They are "the elect of Israel" who shall stand "at the end of days", for God has remembered their "afflictions" and the "years of their exile" (7 7 7 λ 7 7 7 ' 7 7)³.

(c) In the light of the conception of the exile as a temporary "sojourn", a transitory stage toward a more glorious destiny, it is interesting to note the rather frequent association of the expression "new covenant" with "Damascus". The community consists of "the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus"⁴. They are "the men that have entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus"⁵. Is this relation between the "new covenant" and "Damascus", the gathering place of the exiles, coincidental or intentional? A passage in 1QH appears to suggest the latter solution:

"And Thou hast set me in a place of exile
among many fishers...and thence (is) the
covenant (come) to them that seek it"⁶.

The exiled generation of Qumran understood itself to be the recipient of the prophetic promise which was originally addressed to the generation of the Babylonian diaspora. The exiles will again become

1: Cf. Gen.12:10; 19:9; 20:1; Judges 17:7; 19:1; Ez.20:38. W.Gesenius, Hebräisches Handwörterbuch, p.445, translates: "Aufenthalt in der Frem- (de)"
 2: CD VI:5.
 3: CD IV:2-6a.
 4: CD VI:19.
 5: CD VIII:21; XIX:33-34.
 6: 1QH V:8,9; Cf. A.Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings, p.215,(n.1).

the focal point of God's attention. They are the members of the new covenant of the exile. He will bring them out of exile, restore them to their deserved place and allow them to enjoy everlasting delights in His sanctuary on Mount Zion. We have here another splendid example of a typological thought-structure being founded upon and originating in a typological conception of covenant.

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